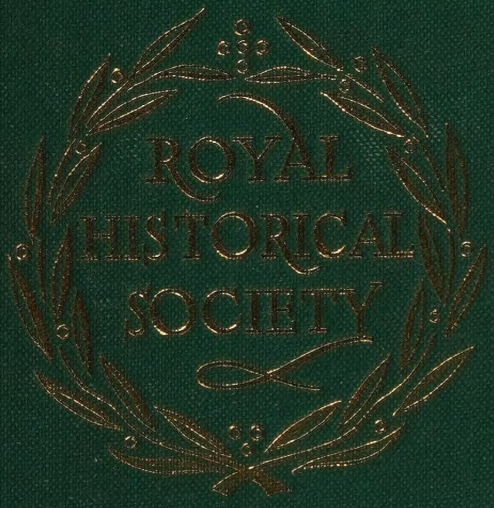
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TRANSACTIONS OF THE
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DIPLOMACY AND WAR PLANS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1890–1917[1]

By J. A. S. Grenville, Ph.D.

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IN 1890 America was at peace, the golden age appeared to be at hand; unfettered by the miseries of European strife, in prosperous rather than splendid isolation, the American people confidently looked forward to an even more exciting future. But a new age of danger was rapidly approaching; the nineteenth-century conditions of American safety—geographical isolation, the British fleet, as it turned out, the 'hostage' of Canada in American hands, and the balance of power in Europe—were passing away. The era which had seen the new world fattening on the follies of the old was coming to an end; soon the follies of the old world impinged on the peace and prosperity of the new. Within three decades the contest for world power fought out in Europe, and the rise of the youngest of the great nations, Japan, was to endanger the safety of the United States. Yet few Americans recognized the full import of these changes and the need for fresh policies.

In the conduct of foreign affairs one of the most essential considerations must always be to adjust policy, sometimes rapidly, to changing conditions. Now we know that the American people remained overwhelmingly isolationist in sentiment long after Washington's admonition to avoid entangling alliances had lost its validity. What, however, of America's leaders? How well did

[1] The research for this paper was undertaken while I was a member of the research seminar of Professor Samuel Flagg Bemis at the University of Yale during the session 1958–59 under the auspices of the Harkness Fund of the Commonwealth Fund. I wish to express my indebtedness to the Fund, to Professor Bemis for his wise counsel, and to the historical sections of the United States Army and Navy Departments, especially to Admiral E. M. Eller for his courtesy in enabling me to examine hitherto security-classified records.

they perceive the new configuration of power and politics which faced America in the twentieth century? Much study has been devoted to this subject; but the contribution to American foreign policy of those men, the generals and admirals, whose very business it was to consider in concrete terms the shifting balance of world power, is virtually an unknown chapter, although this contribution was an important one. From the recently opened records of the United States Army and Navy Departments we may now attempt to answer one vital question, namely, how far strategic advice was responsible for the new rôle played by the United States in world affairs during the first two decades of the twentieth century. In the search for what Kennan has called 'the realities' of American policy a few weeks spent examining the military records are worth many years of theorizing.[1]

Until the 1890's the American armed forces were considered not so much as the country's first line of defence against outside aggression, but as a police force to subdue troublesome Indians and Mexicans. In 1890, the same year as the Kaiser sensed the coming age of *Weltpolitik*, a number of men in America tried simultaneously to awaken the American people to the dangers. The intellectual giant among them was Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan.

When he published, in 1890, his *Influence of Sea-Power upon History*, Mahan was a lecturer at the Naval War College. He believed that the American continent was threatened both from the West and from the East. Germany with her expanding population and boundless energy, he thought, would sooner or later attempt to colonize South America, while the teeming millions of China and Japan might burst across the barrier of the Pacific Ocean. With the construction of the isthmian canal across Central America, the Caribbean, he also prophesied, would become one of the great life-lines of trade and consequently a region of intense international rivalry. He warned that, unless the United States possessed a dominant fleet when the canal was built, the canal would prove a source of danger rather than of safety and

[1] The first book to do this, although not all the essential documents were available to the author, is William R. Braisted's scholarly and excellent study, *The United States in the Pacific, 1897–1909* (University of Texas Press, 1958). W. Schilling's *Admirals and Foreign Policy, 1913–1919* (unpublished Yale University Ph.D. thesis, 1956), is also useful.

welfare. The United States must therefore not rest content until she controlled the canal itself, and guarded the approaches to it with a powerful fleet of battleships.[1] Behind the advocacy of the annexation of Cuba and Hawaii lay not so much a growing American imperialism as a concern for the safety of the isthmian canal and the American continent.

The same conclusion had been reached in the same year (1890) by a group of naval officers called together by Secretary of the Navy Benjamin Tracy. They advocated an ocean-going battleship fleet in place of the floating coastal batteries, which the American battleships of those days virtually were. In the years which immediately followed, Mahan's ideas were translated into political action by a number of younger politicians, of whom the most prominent were Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge. Before 1898 these proponents of the so-called 'large policy' did not so much seek to lay the basis of an American empire overseas as to provide for the safety of the American continents in the new realities of power and politics as revealed to them by Mahan.

Theodore Roosevelt's opportunity to shape policy came when Cabot Lodge and his supporters persuaded President McKinley to appoint him Assistant Secretary of the Navy. In the Navy Department 'T. R.' had, as he would have put it, a 'bully time'—but according to an entry in the private diary of Secretary of the Navy Long, Teddy went about his business like 'a bull in a china shop'.

Hitherto, in the absence of other evidence from the Naval archives, it has been customary to credit Roosevelt with a large share of responsibility for the war with Spain and especially for the involvement of the United States in the Far East through the acquisition of the Philippines. Was it not Roosevelt who on 25 February 1898 sent the famous telegram to Commodore Dewey to prepare for an attack on the Philippines? This decision has rightly been regarded by historians as a momentous step in United States policy, and it was therefore tempting to look on it as part of a great expansion of America overseas, brought about, or plotted, as some would have it, by Roosevelt, the supporters of the 'large policy' and Commodore Dewey.

[1] For Mahan's views on these points see especially his *The Interest of America in Sea Power Present and Future* (Boston, 1897).

This view, as I have already tried to show, does not fit in with the actual objective which the proponents of the large policy had in mind—the defence of the American continents. Nor does it fit in with the evidence discovered in the Navy Department archives. Incredible as it may seem, the attack on the Philippines was a secondary consideration, a by-product of the war with Spain.

The idea of attacking the Philippines was neither Roosevelt's nor Dewey's but the brain-child of a young naval lieutenant, William Warren Kimball, whose name ought to have, but certainly has not yet, found its way into the history books. In 1896, that is before Roosevelt had joined the Navy Department, Kimball had drawn up a war plan providing, in the event of a conflict with Spain, for a simultaneous attack on the Spanish possessions in the Caribbean and in the Pacific. The main theatre of War was designated as Cuban waters. An attack on the Philippines was intended as a secondary, almost incidental, operation, to be undertaken merely to humiliate and embarrass Spain. In 1898 Kimball's general plan, in the absence of another, won Navy Secretary Long's and Roosevelt's approval. Here then is a most striking example of how a war plan, drawn up by a young naval officer, altered the course of history.[1]

It was Kimball's plan which Roosevelt set in motion on 25 February 1898. Only after Dewey's victory at Manila Bay on the glorious first of May did the exponents of the 'large policy' suddenly become converts to the 'larger policy' of carrying the American flag across the Pacific. In the decision to retain the Philippines they played an important rôle, but strategic considerations and a number of officers, members of a newly created Strategy Board, played the greater part.

Shortly before the outbreak of hostilities, Long had recognized that the organization of the Navy Department made it difficult to conduct war operations efficiently. The hydra-headed administration consisted of six boards, over each of which presided a naval officer, jealously guarding the power of his own department. It was not always easy to move a ship in time of peace, as

[1] War with Spain 1896. General Consideration of the War, the Results desired, and the consequent kind of operations to be undertaken. Plan by W. W. Kimball, Lt. U.S. Navy, Staff Intelligence Officer, June 1, 1896. Navy Department, National Archives, Washington. See also Braisted, *ibid.*

the commanding captain was liable to receive quite contradictory orders from more than one bureau chief. Such a division of command would have proved disastrous in wartime. But Secretary Long despaired of reforming the system radically, and so, in March 1898, he created instead a special Strategy or War Board, composed at first of Roosevelt and three bureau chiefs, Captains Crowninshield and Barker, and Commander Clover. After Roosevelt's departure Mahan and Admiral Sicard joined the Board, replacing Captain Barker and Commander Clover. The Board's task was to act in a purely advisory capacity. Yet from this modest beginning developed the General Board, whose members exerted a decisive influence on the overall American strategic planning, down to the American entry into the First World War.

In May 1898 the Board sought to strengthen Dewey's position at Manila. After the news had reached them that Admiral Camara was collecting the remnants of the Spanish fleet, whose destination, they feared, might be the Philippine Islands, the Board advised Secretary Long to secure Dewey's lines of communication by the acquisition of the island of Guam. In May 1898 McKinley ordered troop transports to Manila and to Guam to support Dewey. Thus the exigencies of war drove America into a deeper Far Eastern commitment. When eventually the armistice of 12 August 1898 brought the war to an end, the United States found herself in occupation of Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam and the Philippines. But whereas the military situation in the Caribbean reinforced a concept of American policy long cherished, the state of affairs in the Pacific was brought about largely by the adoption of Kimball's war plan and the strategic advice of the War Board during the course of the conflict. No concept of American diplomacy lay behind the occupation of a part of the Philippine archipelago and the consequent American involvement in Far Eastern rivalries.

President McKinley now faced the entirely new and unexpected problem of what to do with the Spanish possessions in the Pacific. The American Commissioners sailing for Paris to negotiate a peace were given clear instructions to implement American policy in the Caribbean as stated before the war, that is to secure Spain's renunciation of sovereignty over her Caribbean possessions, but their instructions concerning the Philippines were

vague. The War Board had warned that their occupation constituted a major burden for the United States, and McKinley was reluctant to assume it. Nevertheless, other considerations besides strategic ones led McKinley in the succeeding months to insist on the acquisition of the whole of the Philippine archipelago.

By an extraordinary coincidence the Far East had become the cockpit of European rivalries just at about the same time as the Cuban-Spanish-American War. Germany, not content with a gradual growth of economic influence in China, had proceeded to rob the Manchu Empire of Kiaochow. This greed ushered in a new era of European imperialism in China. Russia grabbed Port Arthur, and Britain, to restore the balance, took over Wei-hai-Wei from the Japanese. By the summer of 1898 the partition of China seemed probable. Special American business interests were much alarmed by the development and from the winter of 1897 onwards bombarded the State Department with petitions. America's great market of the future, they believed, lay in China. The possession of the Philippines appeared to them a providential base, from which America might make her influence felt on the mainland of Asia.

Then the exponents of the 'large policy' added their voice to the general clamour. Less than a week after the battle of Manila Bay, Cabot Lodge hailed Dewey's victory as giving the United States 'a foothold in the East', and as offering vaster possibilities 'than anything that has happened to this country since the annexation of Louisiana';[1] while Roosevelt enthusiastically replied from the troopship that was carrying him to Cuba that the war must not be concluded before Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines were taken from Spain. Another influential member of the group, Cushman K. Davis, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, ardently desired to see the United States keep the Philippines, and was anxious lest a weak President and the Peace Commissioners in Paris, surrounded by 'sexless cosmopolites' and engaged in 'guzzling' and 'guttling', as he put it, might lose sight of America's real interests.[2]

McKinley spent his time earnestly praying for an answer to the puzzling problem of the Pacific, while Cabot Lodge went in and out of the White House talking hard at him. As the President saw

[1] John A. Garraty, *Henry Cabot Lodge*, (New York, Knopf, 1953), p. 197.

[2] Garraty, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

it, the United States had assumed responsibility for the Philippines and could neither escape the white man's burden nor hand the rebels over to the vengeance of Spain. Moreover, if the United States withdrew from the Philippines, the islands would no longer remain in the hands of a weak power. The presence of Admiral Diederichs' German squadron, the ships of the other European powers, and of Japan, served notice that, if America gave them up, one of these countries would try to grab them. At first McKinley was inclined to limit American demands to the island of Luzon, but in the end, having first convinced himself that the Almighty and the American public demanded that the United States flag should remain there, he gave way to these various pressures and instructed the Peace Commissioners to demand the whole of the Philippines. When on 6 February 1899 the Senate, by a narrow margin, confirmed the treaty of peace, the United States became a Far Eastern power.

During the next five years, that is from 1899 to 1903, the Administration endeavoured to adjust American policy to the entirely new state of affairs brought about by the war with Spain. An army was despatched to suppress the Philippine rising, and Cuba became a protectorate at the same time. With consummate skill Secretary of State John Hay sought to strengthen America's position by diplomatic means. The only European power with possessions and naval forces in the Caribbean was now Great Britain. Fortunately it so happened that Britain, hard pressed by Russia and France, was just at this time trying to concentrate her military and naval forces; and the British Cabinet was thus ready to lend a more sympathetic ear to American aspirations. By the Hay-Pauncefote treaty of January 1902, Hay not only secured British assent to the exclusive American control over the projected isthmian canal but also in reality the British recognition of American predominance in the Caribbean. The treaty paved the way for Roosevelt's coup in Panama a year later.[1]

The problem confronting Hay in the Pacific and in China was infinitely more grave. In this vast region the United States not only faced a friendly Britain but also other European great powers as well as Japan, each one of them powerful enough to despatch America's weak military forces to the bottom of the ocean. Hay's

[1] See J. A. S. Grenville, 'Great Britain and the Isthmian Canal, 1898–1901', *American Historical Review*, lxi (1955).

well-known Open Door Notes of 1899 and 1900 thus were intended to preserve America's interests in China by purely diplomatic means. By enunciating as the two principles of United States policy the support of equal commercial opportunity and the maintenance of the integrity of China, and by seeking to give these principles some international sanctions Hay, like President Monroe before him, had announced to the world the United States' intentions without possessing the necessary military force to implement them. But whereas America's military power caught up with President Monroe's doctrine, the same was not true of the Hay doctrine. The acquisition of the Philippines and Hay's notes in effect led the United States into a Far Eastern quandary, from which there seemed no escape until some four decades later America's China policy lay in ruins.

The great need to build up America's military might in this new era of American policy was not lost on the more far-seeing men of McKinley's generation, but only when a President, acutely conscious of the realities of force that underlie diplomacy, entered the White House did the executive provide real leadership to the nation. That moment came when Roosevelt succeeded to the Presidency in 1901. Roosevelt never ceased to strive to convince Congress and the nation that the defence of America's interests required above all a large fighting fleet, and that the determination and ability to go to war was the best guarantee of peace.

The younger naval and army officers also did battle against a military machine that seemed totally inadequate for modern needs. The war with Spain had underlined the need for adequate staff work and the success of the War Board had pointed the way for the future. Among the most persistent advocates of a general staff for the Navy was Captain H. C. Taylor. He had first laid plans for such a staff before Roosevelt in May 1897; now in 1900 he brought the idea once more to the attention of Secretary Long. Long, however, was reluctant to risk a fight with his entrenched bureau chiefs, hesitant about allowing the professional officers wide powers outside civilian control, and rightly dubious whether Congress could be brought to approve the scheme. Consequently he compromised, and in March 1900 created a Board, known as the General Board, which possessed no executive functions, but was to serve as a purely advisory council which was constitutionally confined to considering such problems of strategy as the Secretary

of the Navy might refer to it.[1] Under the dynamic leadership of Admiral Dewey, its first President, the Board, whose other members were the President of the Naval War College, the Chief of the Bureau of Navigation and the Chief of Naval Intelligence, soon outgrew these limitations. It became the chief military council of the nation, advising successive Presidents on the grand strategy which the country must follow to preserve her present interests and to provide for her expanding needs in the challenging future. The influence of the Board on America's foreign policy was profound. Just as Mahan had dominated strategic thought in the 1890's, so Dewey was the intellectual giant who bestrode the years from 1900 until, in 1914, a stroke curtailed his effectiveness. His service to the nation during the war of 1898 is well known and was lavishly rewarded by his countrymen, but his infinitely more important contribution to national policy in later years still remains to be recognized by the historian.

The army was until the outbreak of the First World War very much the weak sister of the services. The defence of the United States was regarded primarily as a naval problem, yet the garrisoning of the outlying American possessions involved the army also in new responsibilities. Weak in numbers, the army had hitherto coped successfully with Mexicans and Indians, but had been caught woefully unprepared by the war with Spain. With no strategy board to co-ordinate their efforts, the chiefs of the army bureaux at the War Department had proved quite unequal to the crisis.

Just as in the navy, however, a few able and young army officers were alive to the need to reorganize the War Department. Elihu Root, appointed Secretary of War in 1899 to still their complaints and to meet the criticisms of Congress investigating the scandals of 1898, was finally responsible in 1903 for the creation of a General Staff. His staff borrowed the prestige of the Prussian name without allowing it to enjoy any of its power. Indeed he leant rather more heavily on the ideas of an Oxford Professor, Spenser Wilkinson, who in 1890 had written a remarkable book, *The Brain of an Army*. The influence of the Army General Staff on American strategic and foreign policy before the First World War was in fact very slight. Yet it became obvious that some

[1] Harold and Margaret Sprout, *The Rise of American Naval Power*, (Princeton University Press, 1946), p. 247.

degree of army co-operation would be necessary if the navy was to play its rôle, since the defence of naval bases was a problem requiring the help of soldiers. To meet this need the year 1903 also saw the creation of the Joint Army and Navy Board, presided over by the indomitable Dewey. As if an omen for the future, the first years of inter-service co-operation proved a lamentable failure.

These three staff organizations were charged with the responsibility for formulating America's strategic policy in the new picture of power and politics. Their success would depend in large part on their ability to assess the probable development of international relations accurately. Unfortunately the cardinal truth escaped them. They failed to recognize that the growing rivalries of Europe in the Caribbean aided the United States in pursuing a policy of dominance, while in the Pacific it undermined United States security. The doctrine laid down by the strategists from first to last, on the other hand, declared that until the United States possessed a fleet powerful enough to be divided between the two oceans, the battlefleet would have to be stationed on the Atlantic seaboard ready to enforce the Monroe Doctrine and to meet any conceivable European threat of invasion.

Every naval officer had taken to heart Mahan's teaching that economic rivalries were the true cause of global conflict, and then, by a process of applying 'the precepts of history', it seemed a logical conclusion to regard Germany and England as the ultimate mortal foes of the United States. All naval war plans of the period were based on an application of Mahan's 'doctrines', however absurd the conclusion to which they led. Consequently this slavish imitation of Mahan's historical techniques helped to warp American strategic thought.

Roosevelt was an outstanding *Realpolitiker*, regarding as worthless a policy which was not backed by force to maintain it and if necessary by threat of war. His estimate of the Kaiser's ambitions made it appear likely to him that one day Germany would attempt to colonize portions of South America. Consequently he approved of the policy of retaining the undivided battlefleet in the Atlantic Ocean. His diplomacy, moreover, sought in a more forceful way than Hay's to secure for the United States every strategic vantage point in the Caribbean. With this end in view he took advantage of a revolution in Colombia to

occupy the territory through which the Panama Canal was destined to run. At the same time he seconded with great vigour and considerable success the policy of the General Board for a large battleship fleet.

During the first three years of his office, Roosevelt, strangely enough, paid scant attention to the Far East. He was content to leave the Philippine difficulties to his Secretary of War, Taft, and the Chinese question to Hay. Russia rather than Japan appeared to be menacing the open door in China, and the conclusion of the Anglo-Japanese alliance in 1902, an alliance which ultimately proved disastrous to Anglo-American interests in the Far East, was welcomed in Washington as tending to uphold the integrity of the Manchu Empire. The strategists, moreover, took a decidedly unrealistic and rosy view of America's Far Eastern position. The early war plans of 1903 and 1904 providing for the defence of the Philippines were intended to meet a European foe rather than Japan. The General Board had then decided on the establishment of a first-class naval base in the Philippines, and selected Olongapo in Subic Bay as the most suitable site, and the Joint Board added its agreement.[1] The fact that Olongapo could not be defended from the land side did not perturb the strategists at this time, as the probable enemy, Germany, could only operate with naval forces. The General Board also looked forward to the establishment of a naval base on the coast of China, so that in the event of a partition, America would be able to make her weight felt. The policy of the strategists, however, ran counter to Hay's diplomatic efforts, and although Hay in the winter of 1900 did enquire about the possibilities of leasing Samsa Bay, he was happy enough to allow the matter to drop on learning of Japanese objections. But marines were nevertheless stationed in the Philippines for several years in readiness for the seizure of a Chinese base. Hypnotized by the prospects of America's future needs in China, the General Board, incredible as it may seem, was still pressing for an American coaling-station on the Chinese coast as late as November 1905.[2]

[1] Records of the Joint Army and Navy Board, National Archives, Washington, 9 Dec. 1903, 19 Dec. 1903.

[2] General Board Correspondence, United States Navy Department, 25 Nov. 1905, for a summary of strategic policy on this point and for the reaction of the State Department to naval demands.

While the strategists advocated a policy in the Far East outdated by rapidly changing events there, Roosevelt speedily recognized that American interests in China were deeply affected by the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war. Just as in the Caribbean, where America's safety depended on the divisions in Europe, so in the Pacific, American security had in reality been founded on the balance of power which the rivalry of Japan and Russia had provided. During the early stages of the war Roosevelt favoured and admired Japanese prowess, David fighting Goliath. Japan's smashing naval victories and the efficiency of her army soon led him to view the situation differently. His decision to accept the rôle of mediator and to bring about peace was certainly founded on the belief that America's interests required the maintenance of the balance of power in the Far East. It could not, however, be done; military realities and the growing antagonisms of the European powers had permitted Japan to gain a predominant position. Britain, hoping to save her Yangtze interests by placing them under Japanese protection, renewed the Anglo-Japanese alliance in 1905 and 1911, while Russia turned her attention once more to the Balkans and was content to sign secret treaties with Japan at China's expense, which allowed Japan the lion's share of the bargain. Consequently the United States was powerless to alter the course of events on the Asiatic mainland. Yet Hay's notes had committed the United States to the policy of maintaining Chinese integrity. This was a dilemma which no amount of diplomatic skill and finesse could solve. Worse still any insistence on the part of the United States that Japan desist from spreading her co-prosperity sphere might lead to a Japanese attack on America's Pacific possessions.

Soon after the conclusion of the Russo-Japanese war, the strategists took a hard new look at the strategic problems of the Pacific. The result of their deliberations was hardly encouraging. Gone were the days when they thought America might share in the partition of China. Indeed, now it appeared that the Philippines could hardly be held in the face of a Japanese attack. Yet it took another four years before strategic policy was adjusted to the new military realities. From 1905 until 1909, it was Roosevelt who led the strategists rather than the strategists who guided the Administration.

The navy in the Philippines had selected Olongapo as the site

for a naval base, but the army now declared that they could not defend it. The reduction of Port Arthur had shown that without adequate land defence a naval base was useless. The army therefore suggested Manila and its Bay with Corregidor Island as the most suitable site for a naval base capable of defence. Dewey, however, stubbornly rejected Manila Bay as impracticable from a naval point of view. Not even Roosevelt's personal intervention ended the inter-service bickering.[1] The General Board and the Joint Board had fallen on evil days. In the end, in 1909, the navy declared that no suitable site for a first-class naval base could be found in the Philippines and that accordingly Pearl Harbour in the Hawaiian Islands should be developed. Clearly the strategists had come to the conclusion that the Philippines were virtually impossible to defend.[2]

Roosevelt had, however, already anticipated this result of the discussion two years earlier, when he referred to them as America's heel of Achilles. While the sailors despaired, the diplomats were left with the thankless task of trying to appease Japan without sacrificing China. From 1905 to 1917 they negotiated a number of interesting agreements with Japan, which in substance allowed Japan a free hand on the mainland, while in phraseology they paid lip-service to the 'open door' and 'Chinese integrity'. The Taft-Katsura conversation of 1905 was the first of these, it was followed by the Root-Takahira agreement of 1908, and finally by the controversial Lansing-Ishii agreement of 1917. In truth these agreements were of little value. The Japanese Government had no intention of precipitating a conflict with the United States by attacking the Philippines as long as the United States did not impede their programme on the Asian mainland. They were ready, moreover, to give every conceivable paper assurance on the 'open door' and Chinese independence, but this did not restrain them one iota from furthering their own aggressive aims. However laudable or cynical the intentions of American diplomats may have been, American policy in the Far East made very little impression on international developments there in the years from 1906 to 1917.

[1] Joint Army and Navy Board, 6 Nov. 1907, 29 Jan. 1908, 31 Jan. 1908, 19 Feb. 1908.

[2] General Board Correspondence, 24 Feb. 1909. Joint Army and Navy Board, 5 Mar. 1908, 8 Nov. 1909.

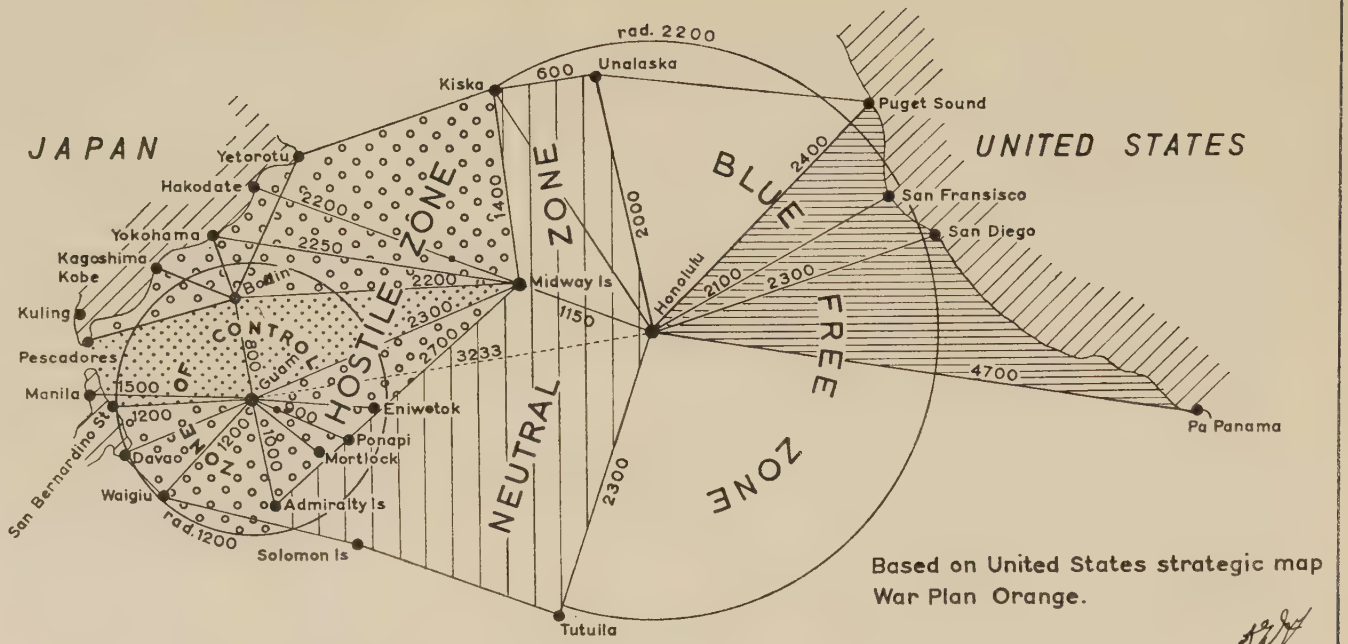
Roosevelt and the strategists were nevertheless rightly perturbed by the defenceless position of America's possessions in the Pacific Ocean. In such a situation it seemed the height of folly to injure sensitive Japanese pride by humiliating Japanese immigrants on the western seaboard. Roosevelt did his best to smooth over the crisis in American-Japanese relations caused by the problem of oriental immigrants, but not before, for the first time in their history, a Japanese war scare swept over the American people.

Theodore Roosevelt, whose grasp of the strategic realities underlying diplomacy was better than that of any President before the outbreak of the Second World War, believed that only a large navy could guarantee the safety of America's insular possessions in the Far East and gain respect for the country among the great nations of the world all arming to the teeth. He now redoubled his efforts to win Congressional approval for new naval construction. He got two new battleships a year, having asked for four, and in February 1907 secured Congressional approval for the construction of the first American Dreadnought. In battleship strength, with sixteen first-class battleships, America had already gained a safe margin of superiority over Japan. He sent the fleet around the world to show the American flag in the Pacific (Dec. 1907 to Feb. 1909) and he dealt with American-Japanese differences in a conciliatory but firm way. These were the elements of Roosevelt's Far Eastern policy from 1906 until he left the White House in 1909.

His successor Taft sought to meet the problem by the new expedient of substituting the dollar for guns in the Far East, and law for brute force in the world at large, while Wilson was forced during his first five years of office to focus his attention on the European catastrophe.

The two great war plans, worked out by the strategists during these years, were entirely defensive in character. They were denoted by a colour to represent a possible enemy, Orange for Japan, Black for Germany. While the Orange plan is chiefly of academic interest and showed just how defenceless the United States' position in the Pacific was, the Black War Plan with its subsequent amendments proved a vital influence on America's defence policy during the years which preceded the American entry into the First World War. Together they represent a

Strategic Positions. Blue & Orange.



Based on United States strategic map
War Plan Orange.

H.L.J.

tremendous advance in American strategic planning and are in fact the first modern war plans in American history.

War Plan Orange was completed in 1914.[1] It showed a realistic grasp of the Pacific situation. Logistics dominated the problem as the naval strategists saw it. If the means were lacking to insure the arrival of the full naval strength in the area where the decisive battle of the war would be fought, the national calamity would be as great as if the fighting fleet were inferior to the enemy. The naval experts calculated that by way of the 'Panama Canal', Pearl Harbour, Midway and Guam, it would take the first section of the United States fleet sixty-eight days to reach Manila, whereas the Japanese fleet and troop transports would arrive in the Philippines eight days after having left Japanese ports. This gave the Japanese full control of the western Pacific for sixty days if the Panama Canal could be utilized by the United States fleet and, if not, full control for 104 days. The defence of the Philippines thus depended on the army plan of defence on Corregidor Island. The army mission was to hold out for at least sixty days, and the navy mission to engage the Japanese navy in battle on its arrival in the western Pacific, in order to relieve Japanese pressure on the Philippines. Guam was held to be the vital strategic point of control, and the navy believed that the decisive battle would be fought within a 1,200-mile radius of that island.

So much for the plans, now what were the realities of the situation? The strategists frankly confessed that the plan departed from usual procedure in not taking account of actual conditions, but in assessing that well before the war the reforms they proposed were instituted. In 1914 the position was bleak indeed. Congress had approved appropriations for the construction of a battleship fleet superior to the Japanese. The United States fleet, however, was unbalanced, for Congress had ignored the persistent requests of the General Board, passed on to them by the Secretary of the Navy, for adequate personnel to man the ships and for the necessary auxiliary ships, cruisers, destroyers, transports, ammunition ships and above all colliers on which the movement of the fleet depended. In 1914 the battleship fleet could hardly reach San Francisco, let alone make a voyage of 10,000 miles from their Atlantic base to the Philippines. Moreover, the construction of defences, docks, and the establishment of garri-

[1] War Plan Orange, War Portfolios, United States Navy Department.

sons on the United States Pacific islands had been neglected. The army in the Philippines could not hope to resist a Japanese assault for sixty days, while Guam, Midway and Hawaii were virtually defenceless and Pearl Harbour as yet could not even dock a battleship. War Plan Orange thus underlined the fact that for many years to come the United States was incapable of fighting Japan. Accordingly, American diplomacy during this period had to be, and was, shaped on this assumption, as illustrated by the famous Lansing-Ishii Agreement. But what of the Black War Plan?[1]

Here, from the strategic point of view the situation was reversed, for Germany rather than the United States suffered the handicap of long lines of communication. As against this, the strategists had to face their own estimate that a large German army of three-quarters of a million men could be transported to the West Indies and the United States. It was thus held that the mission of the United States fleet, based on Guantanamo, Cuba, and its advanced base, Culebra, Puerto Rico, was to meet the German fleet in the Atlantic, once it had passed into the zone of control at a radius of 500 miles from Culebra, and to prevent a German landing in the West Indies or on the American mainland. The chances of American success were rather gloomily rated about even. Clearly the strategists failed to recognize the enormous problems involved in endeavouring to send an army with all its supplies across the Atlantic Ocean. As yet geographical isolation still provided the North American mainland with a considerable degree of protection.

These two great war plans Orange and Black were completed before the outbreak of the First World War, and the historian approaches the 1914–1917 period with some very interesting questions. We would like to know how far the war modified prewar plans, at what stage in the war the strategists drew up plans to co-operate with the allies, when precisely were the first army and navy plans drawn up to enable the United States to fight in Europe, what were the long-term objectives of the strategic planners, and to sum up, how far the nation had been brought to a state of preparedness before entering the war. The most important naval and army records for the period of the Wilson Administration are now open to some historians and provide the answers to these fascinating problems.

[1] War Plan Black, War Portfolios, United States Navy Department.

As it turned out, when Congress in their investigation of 1920 addressed themselves to the problem of discovering how far the nation was prepared for 1917, they were asking the wrong question, and the answers they received from naval officers carefully hid the fact. From 1914 until February 1917 the General Board and the General Staff of the Army were preparing not for the First World War but for the war which would follow it. The revision of the Black War Plan on 1 January 1915 recognized, it is true, that as long as the Central Powers and the Entente were locked in battle, there was no threat to the Monroe Doctrine, and that in defence of American citizens maltreated by the Central Powers America might be forced to fight Germany.[1] But there was no thought of joining in the allied war effort; in effect the United States' war effort was limited to meeting any hostile German cruisers in the Atlantic. 'No other objective exists for the American fleet', in the words of the war plan, 'unless an expeditionary force is sent against German South Africa'! The Black War Plan was amended from time to time during 1916 and 1917 to provide for a variety of emergencies against a German fleet operating in the West Indies, and the purchase of the Danish West Indies was recommended by the Board in August 1916 to complete the defensive American position in the Caribbean.

Wilson pursued a lonely policy of trying to preserve America's neutral rights and of bringing the war to a close before the balance of power in Europe was destroyed. As late as February 1917 he shocked his Secretary of State, Lansing, by refusing to agree that an allied victory was necessarily a good thing. The Secretary of the Navy, Josephus Daniels, was deeply in sympathy with these pacific views, and while building up the United States navy, looked forward to a general disarmament after the European war was over.

In the summer and autumn of 1915 the General Board examined American naval needs in the light of the World War. Their views were adopted by Wilson. The General Board called for a navy second to none and recommended a building programme of battleship and auxiliary ships over a five-year period which would realize this aim. The great naval Act of 1916 gave this plan Congressional sanction. But it is of cardinal importance to recognize that neither Wilson nor the strategists had recom-

[1] War Plan Black, War Portfolios, United States Navy Department.

mended the construction of such a fleet in order to prepare the nation for intervention in the European War. In their memorandum of 6 August 1915 the General Board gave as their reason for the need of a large navy the problems that would face the United States when the war in Europe was concluded. 'History shows', the General Board wrote, 'that wars are chiefly caused by economic pressure and competition between nations and races . . . At the close of the present war it is not improbable that the defeated belligerents, with the connivance and perhaps participation of the victors, may seek to recoup their war losses and to expand at the expense of the new world. On the other hand, perhaps soon, the victor may challenge the United States. . . . The naval policy should therefore make the United States secure in Western Atlantic, the Caribbean and the Pacific Oceans at the earliest possible moment.'[1] Even in August 1917 the Board could still write: 'A new alignment of powers after the present war must not find our fleet . . . unprepared to meet possible enemies . . . to act singly or jointly with all their naval powers against us'.[2] In the eyes of the strategists the United States had no friends in the world, only jealous rivals.

Perhaps the cardinal error of the strategists during the First World War was their failure to recognize the submarine menace. According to the General Board memorandum of 9 November 1915 'The deeds of the submarines have been so spectacular that in default of engagements between the main fleets undue weight has been attached to them . . . Yet at the present time, when the allies have learned in great measure to protect their commerce, as they learnt a few months earlier to protect their cruisers from the submarine menace, it is apparent that the submarine is not an instrument fitted to dominate naval warfare.'[3] By 1917 they belatedly recognized that the issue of war hung on the success with which the allies could cope with German submarines. Every destroyer had to be pressed into service to convoy the allied supplies and the United States had less than fifty in commission at the outbreak of war.

And so it was that Wilson's passionate desire for peace, a

[1] General Board Correspondence, 6 Aug. 1915.

[2] *Ibid.*, 29 Aug. 1917.

[3] *Ibid.*, memorandum on General Policy 9 Nov. 1915, Josephus Daniels Papers, National Archives, Washington.

mediated peace which he held was necessary to save 'white civilization', and a grave strategic error on the significance of the submarine led the nation in 1916 to make a great military effort which was peculiarly ill-suited to the needs of 1917. Until February 1917 no thought whatever had been given to co-operating with the allies on land or on the high seas. Not even a rough plan existed to provide for the eventuality of sending an American expeditionary force to Europe. The war plans held in readiness by the army included an American invasion of Canada (1912–13) and also envisaged such possibilities as an attack on New York by Great Britain (March 1915) and the defence of the Pacific coast from a Japanese invasion (February 1915–March 1917).[1] The first plans for an American expeditionary force to Europe, not drawn up until February 1917, were based on the possibility of invading Bulgaria through Greece, and of invading France in the rear of the German armies in alliance with Holland.[2] All these plans were only fit for the waste-paper baskets of the War Department. Consequently the full impact of American intervention was delayed for many months. Wilson had not provided the leadership to prepare the nation effectively for a war which until the very last he regarded as disastrous, while the strategists had failed to consider eventualities which their President virtually refused to envisage.

I have attempted to provide a general and brief survey of the interaction of war plans, strategic planning and diplomacy for the momentous period in American history from 1890 to 1917. Looked at as a whole, these years witnessed a great change in diplomatic and strategic thought. Strategic concepts had vitally influenced American foreign policy in time of peace. But it is curious that practically the only offensive war plan to be found, Lieutenant Kimball's, coincided with the period when American power was only beginning to entitle the United States to be considered as a great power. The most striking characteristic of American war planning from 1903 until 1917 is that it was conceived in terms of defence, and also that the possibility of an alliance with Britain or any other power was given no consider-

[1] Army War Plans, National Archives, Washington, reference to folios Canada, Great Britain, and Japan.

[2] Army War Plans, reference to folio Germany, memorandum, 3 Feb. 1917.

ation whatever. The military men continued to regard as absolutely axiomatic Washington's admonition against entangling alliances. But for a brief period their outlook remained entirely isolationist. Isolationism indeed was to most Americans not a 'policy' but a part of the American way of life.

PHILIP II AND THE PAPACY

By J. Lynch, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.Hist.S.

READ 13 FEBRUARY 1960

THE view that Philip II was the secular arm of the Counter-Reformation still survives. It is based on the assumption that his own words and claims must be taken at their face value, and on the fallacy that because the religious motive was sometimes present in Spanish policy, therefore it was always present and was the most important motive. The popes he had to deal with took a different view. They considered that Philip II, like his predecessors, used his prestige as a Catholic sovereign to pursue objectives that were essentially political. A characteristic summary of the papal view of Philip II's foreign policy was given in 1589 with reference to his ambitions in France: 'The King of Spain, as a temporal sovereign, is anxious above all to safeguard and to increase his dominions . . . The preservation of the Catholic religion which is the principal aim of the Pope is only a pretext for His Majesty, whose principal aim is the security and aggrandisement of his dominions'.[1] It is true that Sixtus V had a deep and personal aversion to Spain and a low estimate of its king, but these opinions were not peculiar to one pope. There were conflicts between Philip II and almost every pope with whom he dealt, which makes it impossible to explain those conflicts in terms of personalities and points to some deeper and more permanent cause. It also makes it impossible to speak of 'the forces of the Counter-Reformation' as though there were a crusading alliance between Spain and the papacy. Protestantism had very little to fear from co-operation between Spain and Rome. In the experience of both powers there was more conflict than co-operation, and it was conflict over two main issues, ecclesiastical jurisdiction and foreign policy.

[1] Instructions addressed to Cardinal Caetani, legate of Sixtus V in France, regarding the settlement of the dynastic question in 1589, in M. de Boüard, *La légation du Cardinal Caetani en France, 1589–1590* (Bordeaux, 1932), p. 62. For further evidence of papal suspicion of Philip II, at different times, see L. von Pastor, *History of the Popes*, Eng. trans. (London, 1894–1953), xxi. 262–73; xxii. 47–64; xxiii. 195 ff.

Even in ecclesiastical affairs the pope's writ hardly ran in Spain.[1] The domination of the church by the crown was probably more complete in Spain in the sixteenth century than in any other part of Europe, including Protestant countries with an Erastian system. The power of the crown had developed not simply in the interests of absolutism but also in the interests of reform. Beginning with Ferdinand and Isabella, the Spanish church was reformed with the active encouragement of the crown, which succeeded in eliminating the practical applications of papal supremacy not only because they competed with royal sovereignty, but also because they were regarded as obstacles to reform. The crown's right to provide to bishoprics and abbacies was originally sought in part as a protective measure against the abuses of the papacy whose nepotism in Spain was notorious. Disputed from 1479, the right was definitely won by Charles V in 1523, when his former tutor, Adrian VI, granted him in perpetuity the right to appoint to bishoprics; by the end of the reign most of the other important and lucrative benefices in the Spanish church had also accrued to the crown. Consequently Philip II disposed of ecclesiastical benefices whose revenues amounted to vast sums of money, and was able to exercise a stranglehold on the personnel of the church. The Spanish clergy looked to the crown rather than to Rome, and Philip II, in spite of his devotion to the church and his concern for reform, could not resist the temptation to exploit this power for political or economic ends. Appointments were preceded by financial arrangements whereby the grateful appointee engaged to pay the crown a percentage of his revenues. Moreover, the nepotism of the papacy could be replaced by the nepotism of the crown. When he was thinking of appointing Gaspar Quiroga archbishop of Toledo and primate of Spain in 1576, Philip II wrote to his sister, the empress, informing her that he would appoint as primate an elderly man, which would enable her son, the Archduke Albert, to succeed to the see in several years after he had grown up.[2]

Spain did not have an Act in Restraint of Appeals, but in fact appeals were restrained and a Spaniard had almost as little chance of appealing a case to Rome as an Englishman had. Based on the

[1] See M. Philippson, 'Felipe II y el Pontificado', *Estudios sobre Felipe II*, ed. R. de Hinojosa (Madrid, 1887), pp. 91–160.

[2] M. Boyd, *Cardinal Quiroga, Inquisitor General of Spain* (Dubuque, 1954), pp. 25–26.

argument that the king was the protector of his subjects, including the clergy, and that they had a right of appeal to him, while Rome was too far away, the crown controlled ecclesiastical tribunals through the *consejo real*, which regarded itself as an ecclesiastical court of appeal and, supported by the Spanish hierarchy, consistently opposed appeals to Rome. The papacy considered this contrary to the decrees of the Council of Trent and complained about it.[1] By a decree of 27 October 1572, however, the *consejo real* declared null and void papal briefs which cited Spaniards before foreign courts in ecclesiastical cases.[2] This made it impossible for the ecclesiastical tribunals of Rome to exercise any jurisdiction in Spain. From the Council of the Inquisition, which was appointed by the crown and was in fact another royal council, there was no appeal. In principle it was admitted that the pope, as supreme head of the church, had delegated power to the Spanish Inquisition, but once the authority had been delegated it was regarded as beyond recall.

There still remained the possibility that the pope might counter-attack with spiritual sanctions. Therefore these important prerogatives of the Spanish crown were safeguarded by the right it claimed to scrutinize papal bulls and briefs and to prohibit their publication if they contradicted the laws and customs of the country. If the pope replied by excommunication, this was considered void in Spain and those who attempted to apply such bulls were punished by law.

To preserve and extend his ecclesiastical prerogatives Philip II waged a relentless war with the papacy which formed a continual background to their political relations. In this struggle with Rome he had the consistent support of the Spanish church. When Philip consulted his theologians and bishops, as he frequently did, they usually agreed with him. His bishops, of course, were appointed by him and he appointed men of strongly regalist views. Nevertheless, Spanish churchmen were in a dilemma: they owed their appointments to the crown but they could not disavow the pope. Even when they were worried about this, however, they were less concerned about principles than about the practical difficulties that Philip could bring upon himself by the

[1] *Correspondencia diplomática entre España y la Santa Sede durante el Pontificado de S. Pio V*, ed. L. Serrano (Madrid, 1914), i. 37–38.

[2] Philippson, *op. cit.*, 151–52.

way he was behaving. As Inquisitor General, Cardinal Quiroga was careful to consult the papacy as well as the crown on all questions dealing with jurisdictional rights, and his advice to Philip was that the pope should be kept as content as possible.[1] The Dominican theologian, Melchor Cano, wrote a memorandum to Philip II on the subject, but he was clearly concerned with the practical effects of papal hostility. He reminded Philip that dealing with the pope required the greatest prudence, for even though he were personally weak he was still the vicar of Christ. If Philip challenged the authority of Rome, he might be damaging his own authority by breaking Catholic unity and weakening the traditional Christian authority in the minds of his own subjects. The pope could be very useful to Spain, especially in times of war, to rally public opinion in a religious way to the government's policies.[2]

Cano was referring to crusades against infidels and protestants. There was, however, a more urgent way in which the pope could be useful to Spain, and this was one of the reasons why Philip II never quite overstepped the mark. He needed the material as well as the moral support of the pope: the Spanish crown's financial interests were tied to the papacy. As supreme head of the church the pope disposed indirectly of ecclesiastical revenues without which Philip II would have been helpless in many of his enterprises. To a king whose resources were never equal to his commitments, this was not simply a minor or extraordinary income.[3] Philip II's revenue from ecclesiastical sources was a permanent and major item in his budget, comparable to his income from America, and he could not get it without papal co-operation. The most valuable ecclesiastical revenue was the *cruzada* or crusade subsidy, granted by the papacy to the crown in the form of a bull of crusade—one papal bull that Philip never tried to keep out of Spain—in which spiritual benefits including indulgences were conferred on the faithful who made a money payment.[4] The *cruzada* had originally been conceded as a sub-

[1] Quiroga to Philip II, 16 March 1574, B[ritish] M[useum], Egerton MS. 1506, fo. 18v.

[2] Melchor Cano to Philip II, B.M., Egerton MS. 444, fos. 19–52.

[3] See 'Memoria de las rentas que el Rey de España tiene anualmente sobre los bienes del clero por concesiones apostólicas', *Corr. Dip.*, i. 447–53.

[4] Pastor, *op. cit.*, xvi. 361.

sidy to help Spanish kings maintain troops to fight the Moors. Long after its original justification had gone, the *cruzada* continued to be renewed, partly because of the Turkish threat in the Mediterranean and partly because it was regarded as granted to the king of Spain for the purpose of promoting Catholicism. In the reign of Charles V the *cruzada* ceased to be an emergency measure and became a regular source of royal revenue renewed by the pope at three-yearly intervals for the rest of the century. By 1566 it amounted to 4,000,000 reales.[1] By 1598 it had reached double this amount.[2] Whereas the *cruzada* was a direct contribution from the laity, the *subsidio* or subsidy was obtained from the rents, lands and other forms of income enjoyed by the clergy. Finally, there were the *tercios reales* or royal tithes, and the rents of the military orders. Philip II inherited all these items of revenue and added to them. In 1567 Pius V granted him a new tax called the *excusado*, which was a tax upon the property of each parish and was intended for the war in Flanders.[3] There was, therefore, a financial reason why the crown should encourage the enormous growth of church property in Spain, because the church was a rich source of revenue for the state by means of taxation. The *cortes* protested frequently but in vain at the accumulation of property in mortmain and criticized it as one of the causes of the economic misery of the country.

It is difficult to assess the amount of Philip II's revenue from ecclesiastical sources and its proportion to his total income, but clearly it was considerable and was moreover an increasing revenue. In 1574 Don Sancho Busto, acting bishop of Toledo, complained to Philip II that more than half of the ecclesiastical income was being taken by the state for its own use and that the Spanish king was a very poor example for the Lutheran rulers to follow, as his method was no better than theirs.[4] Moreover it

[1] E. Pacheco y de Leiva, 'Relaciones vaticanas de Hacienda española del siglo XVI', *Escuela Española de Arqueología e Historia en Roma. Cuadernos de Trabajo*, iv (1918), 67.

[2] 'Relacion por menos de lo que valen en cada un año la alcabala y tercios y otros partidos y la demas hacienda de Su Magestad', 21 Oct. 1598, Archivo General de Simancas, Consejo y junta de hacienda, leg. 380. See also B.M., Cotton. MS., Vespasian C. vi, fo. 86.

[3] *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, ed. M. Fernández de Navarrete, etc. (Madrid, 1842–1931), ii. 296.

[4] Busto de Villegas to Philip II, 1574, B.M., Egerton MS. 444, fos. 53–75.

affected his principles of appointing to benefices; apart from insisting on contributions as a condition of appointment, he wanted men who would co-operate, and co-operate financially. In some cases immense wealth was at stake. The see of Toledo was the richest see in Christendom outside Rome.[1] So vast were its revenues that the pope and Philip II quarrelled over them for seventeen years, the length of the period in which the Carranza case remained conveniently unsettled and during which the king appropriated the income of Toledo. Having enjoyed this revenue so long, it was no great concession on Philip's part to relinquish it when he appointed Gaspar Quiroga to the see in 1577.[2] In any case Quiroga was a fervent supporter of Philip II's foreign policy. In 1586 he made the king a grant of 200,000 ducats to be spent entirely on the war against England. Again in February 1588 he donated 100,000 ducats for the Armada. After its defeat he sent another 100,000 ducats and gave generously towards shipbuilding in 1589 and 1594.[3] Grants of this kind from Spanish churchmen were independent of papal favour, but for his permanent and substantial ecclesiastical revenue Philip II relied entirely on the papacy. For this reason, although his ambassadors might occasionally threaten the pope with schism, the papacy was too important to Philip II ever to be relinquished.

Before Spain and the papacy began to diverge on foreign policy there was constant tension engendered by jurisdictional disputes. After his disastrous experience with the violently anti-Spanish Paul IV, Philip II exerted his utmost influence in the conclave of 1559, where his efforts seemed to be rewarded with the election of Pius IV whose early policy particularly in financial affairs was accommodating. Philip, however, pressed the friendship too far, and on two outstanding matters he came up against the papacy on a question of principle, the decrees of the Council of Trent and the case of Archbishop Carranza. Not surprisingly even the docile Pius V began to kick: Philip withdrew his ambassador in 1563 and the pope refused to renew the subsidy, which expired in 1564.[4]

[1] Boyd, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

[3] *C*[*al.*] *S*[*tate*] *P*[*apers*], *Venetian* (London, 1894–97), viii. 165, 339, 410. See also H. C. Lea, *History of the Inquisition in Spain* (New York, 1906–1907), iv. 494.

[4] Philippson, *op. cit.*, 129–30.

In general the Council of Trent had taken a line in accordance with the ideas of Philip II and of Spanish public opinion. The refusal to admit Protestants to the Council, the declaration for clerical celibacy, the rejection of the administration of the Eucharist under two kinds, some reform of discipline, all these measures were agreeable to Philip II. He suspected, however, some decisions which seemed to threaten the supremacy of the crown over the Spanish clergy, for example the decision that 'the appropriate provincial synod and in the final instance the pope should examine the character and orthodoxy of all new prelates'.[1]

This reform was not acceptable to Philip, because it would give the pope some influence in ecclesiastical appointments. On the question of the Spanish Inquisition the king was equally adamant: there should be no diminution of its jurisdiction, as some bishops at Trent would have liked.[2] He instructed his ambassadors, Diego de Vargas in Rome and the count of Luna at Trent, to make sure that the pope and the Council did not interfere in any way with the Spanish Inquisition or with anything that touched his authority. He believed he had the right to direct the Roman Curia and the Council, and when Pius IV protested, the Spanish ambassador expressed surprise at such a reaction and reprimanded him.[3] Therefore during the whole of 1564 Philip II was vacillating between publishing or not publishing the canons of the Council, which gave the Holy See another ground of complaint against him. Eventually, with the advice of his ambassador Requesens, Philip decided in 1565 to publish the decrees of Trent, but only with the proviso that they did not encroach on the rights and privileges of the Spanish crown, especially in appointments to benefices. This virtually invalidated all the canons of the Council which would reduce the influence of the Spanish king in ecclesiastical jurisdiction and the provision of bishops.[4]

The king and his agents, however, soon discovered that they could not bully Pius V, who was convinced that the supreme authority of the church should be real and not merely nominal. Indeed they were at a loss as to how to deal with a pope who

[1] Pastor, *op. cit.*, xv. 358; xvi. 364–66.
[2] Philippson, *op. cit.*, 121–22.
[3] V. de Lafuente, *Historia eclesiástica de España* (Madrid, 1879), vii. 80n.
[4] Pastor, *op. cit.*, xvi. 106–107.

was a saint and not a politician. Requesens warned Philip that he needed different treatment from other popes, because he did not recognize human prudence or reasons of state and would serve God regardless of practical and political consequences.[1] He was not prepared to yield to Spanish pressure and in particular he was not prepared to recognize the jurisdiction of the monarch over the clergy and the practice of retaining bulls, both of which he regarded as violations of the rights of the church. At first he refused to concede the *subsidio* and the *cruzada*; among other things he was scandalized at the way the latter was preached and traded in Spain. Above all, however, Pius V was determined to take the Carranza case to Rome.

Bartolomé de Carranza, archbishop of Toledo, had advocated reform within the church, but he was no sympathizer with Protestantism as his record in England with Philip and Mary attested.[2] Partly for personal reasons and partly because some of Carranza's theological language did tend to ambiguity, the Inquisitor General Hernando de Valdés accused the archbishop of heresy and he was imprisoned and tried as a Protestant heretic despite the protests of the Council of Trent and of the pope. The case then became a struggle for ecclesiastical power between pope and king: the pope demanded that Carranza be tried in Rome, while the Spanish Inquisition, backed by the king, refused to hand him over. Pius V was more resolute than his predecessor, and on the grounds that the Councils of the church reserved to the pope cognizance of episcopal cases and that Carranza could not get a fair trial in Spain, he was determined to bring the case and the person of the archbishop to his tribunal in spite of the frequent requests of Requesens and the repeated letters of Philip himself that he should be tried in Spain.[3] The pope told Requesens that 'the day you see that I have changed my mind in this matter you will know that I have gone mad.'[4] He never did change his mind. Philip II, however, had equally strong reasons for his position. The claim of the Spanish Inquisition to judge so important a case in the

[1] Requesens to Philip II, 4 July 1566, *Corr. Dip.*, i. 287.

[2] On the Carranza case see M. Menéndez Pelayo, *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles* (Santander, 1946–48), iv. 7–73; G. Marañon, 'El proceso del arzobispo Carranza', *Boletín de la Real Academia de Historia*, cvxxvii (1950), 135–78.

[3] *Corr. Dip.*, i. 174, 329, 337.

[4] Requesens to Philip II, 23 February 1566, *D.I.E.*, lxviii. 455–56.

interests of its own power and prestige, and in order to demonstrate that not even the primate of all Spain was exempt from its jurisdiction, was one that Philip could not ignore. Philip II believed that he needed the Inquisition to govern Spain, and Requesens told the pope that the king considered he could not preserve religion in his dominions without defending the Inquisition against everything.[1] There was also another point and Pius V put his finger on it when he remarked that Philip wished to prolong the matter eternally because in the meantime he was enjoying the revenues of the see of Toledo.[2] In the end Philip yielded, and after more than seven years' imprisonment in Valladolid Carranza left for Rome in December 1566. How did Pius V overcome the obstinacy of the king and the tenacity of the Spanish Inquisition against all expectations? Some historians have said that he feared the threats of the pope.[3] But the papal brief containing the said threats and sent so secretly that even the papal secretary knew nothing of it did not reach the nuncio who had to execute it in case of disobedience until some days after the king had resolved to submit.[4] It has also been argued that Philip was genuinely influenced by the sanctity, disinterestedness and religious zeal of Pius V.[5] Moreover, there was no question that Philip II recognized the spiritual supremacy of the pope. Perhaps we can find another clue in the report of Requesens: 'There is no *cruzada* yet, but no doubt there will be when he gets satisfaction over Carranza'.[6] In any case it was done in such a way that the authority and prestige of the Spanish Inquisition was saved: the pope allowed as many inquisitors as Philip cared to send to be part of the tribunal in Rome. However, once Carranza arrived in Rome, the tactics of the Spanish government and Inquisition caused interminable delays and it was nine years later and after three successive popes had come into the case before he was freed with a nominal punishment.

Meanwhile, although conflict over jurisdiction continued, Pius V was not in a position to hold himself aloof from Spain.

[1] *Corr. Dip.*, i. 49, 256, 271.
[2] Requesens to Philip II, 3 May 1566, *ibid.*, i. 224.
[3] Menéndez Pelayo, *op. cit.*, iv. 62; Lea, *op. cit.*, ii. 79.
[4] *Corr. Dip.*, i. 298, 330.
[5] Serrano, *ibid.*, p. lxiii.
[6] Requesens to Philip II, 27 December 1566, *ibid.*, i. 432.

His anxiety to organize a Christian league against the Turk, for which he had long admitted only Spain and Philip II could be relied on, forced him to go to Spain for an alliance, which resulted in the organization of a fleet composed of Spanish, Venetian and papal vessels, and the destruction of the Turkish fleet at Lepanto in October 1571. In these circumstances the pope had to bend to Philip II as the only monarch who would help him against the infidel and who was already pressed financially by the rebellions in the Low Countries and the Alpujarras. Religious objectives caused Pius V to come to the assistance of his ally, and by the beginning of 1571 he had not only renewed the *cruzada* but also the subsidy on the Spanish clergy for five years. The condition for the latter was that the king should maintain sixty galleys to fight the enemies of the church. In fact they were soon used for other matters. For a moment Spanish political interests in the Mediterranean had coincided with papal religious objectives. But it was not Philip's intention to engage in a long-term campaign against the Turk. After Lepanto Spain no less than Venice began to withdraw from the alliance, and Philip refused to commit his fleet to further engagements in the eastern Mediterranean. He needed it nearer home, and in spite of papal pressure he began a policy of disengagement with regard to the Turk.[1] There was, therefore, no crusade in the Mediterranean.

The possibility of divergent policies had also shown itself in the Low Countries. In the final analysis papal and Spanish policy coincided in the Low Countries. Philip II regarded religious unity as the indispensable condition for political unity and consequently he never intended to tolerate heresy. Rome, unable to act by itself, considered that the only hope for Catholicism in the Low Countries lay in the success of the Spanish cause there. Whether Philip II tried negotiation or force the papacy supported him, and supported him financially, as has been seen. It had no alternative. That is not to say, however, that Philip II was serving the church. In the Low Countries he was fighting for his own political inheritance. While supporting the church, he refused to be guided by it. On the contrary, he continually imposed his own will on it and regarded it as a subordinate ally: he went so far as to say that he had not been sufficiently supported by the papacy in

[1] F. Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* (Paris, 1949), pp. 953 ff., 984 ff.

his policy towards the rebels.[1] In fact it took some time for Spanish and papal policy to settle down together in the Low Countries. At first Philip II had the pope as well as the rebels to contend with. From early in 1566 Pius V was urging him to go in person to the Low Countries and arguing that his presence there was the only safeguard for the church. He also sent his own nuncio to investigate. Philip II ignored the advice and objected to the nuncio.[2] Month after month the pope continued to blame the unfortunate Philip for Catholic losses in the Low Countries, because he was not there in person, and the king's only reply was evasion.[3] When the news from Flanders became worse and Philip could no longer maintain an optimistic front to the pope, he protested his zeal for religion in words that have since been regarded as his political philosophy: 'You can assure His Holiness that rather than suffer the slightest prejudice to religion and the service of God I will lose all my states and a hundred lives if I had them, because I do not wish nor do I intend to be lord over heretics'.[4] But this was written to his ambassador in Rome for papal consumption and because he was not in fact doing what the pope wanted him to do, going to Flanders in person. In another matter too he was out of step with the pope. Pius V wanted a peaceful remedy, a negotiated settlement, whereas Philip was coming to the conclusion that force was going to be necessary. Eventually he convinced the pope that only an army would solve the problem, though Pius thought that it would merely be necessary to frighten the rebels with a show of force.[5] Philip decided to send in the duke of Alba and his Spanish *tercios*. But how was the king going to describe the war? Would he call it a war against heretics, a sort of holy war, or would he call it a war against rebels? The pope would have preferred that the accent be placed on its religious character, that it be called a war against heretics

[1] B. de Meester, *Le Saint-Siège et les troubles des Pays-Bas, 1566–1579* (Louvain, 1934), p. 159.

[2] Pius V to Philip II, 24 February 1566, *Corr. Dip.*, i. 131; Requesens to Philip II, 18 March 1566, *ibid.*, 156–57; Philip II to Requesens, 13 May 1566, *ibid.*, 237–39.

[3] Pius V to Castagna, 3 August 1566, *ibid.*, 299; Philip II to Requesens, 12 August 1566, *ibid.*, 308–12.

[4] Philip II to Requesens, 12 August 1566, *ibid.*, 316.

[5] Philip II to Requesens, 26 November 1566, *ibid.*, 399–403; Requesens to Philip II, 27 December 1566, *ibid.*, 431.

rather than the suppression of a rebellion. The Spanish view was different.[1] In an interview with the papal nuncio in Madrid, Alba insisted that the pope had nothing to do with this affair and that as far as the Low Countries was concerned, the war should be waged according to the same form as that used not long since by Charles V in his struggle against the German Lutherans, that is as a war governed and ordered by reason of state against rebels. To present the situation like this, argued Alba, would better avoid the intervention of England or other Protestant powers in northern Europe to help their co-religionists, while it was in the interest of no ruler to condone rebellion even in the subjects of another. Moreover, to put the accent on the political aspect of the enterprise would enable Alba to recruit German Lutheran troops for his army. This advice prevailed. In the view of Spaniards they were fighting a punitive war against rebel subjects: it was simply a question of a struggle against subjects who were resisting their legitimate sovereign. The fact that Philip II was concerned to play down the religious aspect, of course, does not mean that he did not think he had good religious motives. He did think so. He was arguing in fact that he was fighting the rebellion on political and religious grounds, but that it was wiser to be discreet about the religious ones in case the Protestant powers of northern Europe were provoked by a huge crusading army. Gradually, however, Philip II came to worry less about discretion. In his correspondence with his governors in Brussels he spoke of 'rebels and heretics'. When in 1586, before the dispatch of the Armada against England, the king of Denmark tried to serve as mediator between Philip II and Elizabeth I, the Spanish king disavowed all responsibility for the war, and in reply to the suggestion that he should grant liberty of conscience to the rebels he wrote to the Danish king: 'One should not ask me a thing like that. For if it is clear that other sovereigns do not allow their subjects to have a religion other than the one they themselves profess, for reasons of state as well as for religious motives, why then should this attitude be denied to me?'[2] After

[1] Meester, *op. cit.*, 82–85; L. van der Essen, 'Croisade contre les hérétiques ou guerre contre des rebelles. La psychologie des soldats et des officiers espagnols de l'armée de Flandre au XVI^e siècle', *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, li (1956), 55–57.

[2] L. van der Essen, *Alexandre Farnèse, prince de Parme, gouverneur général des Pays-Bas* (Brussels, 1933–39), v. 78.

the death of Don John, Farnese continued to speak always of 'heretics and rebels', thus assimilating the political and the religious character of the struggle. And in the letters of soldiers and officers, as well as in the Spanish chroniclers of the sixteenth century, the royal army is always called 'the Catholic army', and the war is waged, according to them, 'to defend the Catholic religion'.[1]

In Philip II's policy towards England, however, there was no ambiguity: he refused to align himself with the papacy and he was guided by political and not religious considerations. It is well known that he long repudiated aggressive Catholic plans against England and sought to protect Elizabeth against the hostility of the papacy, because he had no wish to further the interests of Mary Queen of Scots and of France. Twice he stopped Elizabeth's excommunication: in 1561, after the queen had refused to receive the papal nuncio, and again in 1563, when he blocked the excommunication debated in the Council of Trent. As late as 1570, when the papal bull of excommunication was finally issued, without consultation with Spain, he forbade its publication in his own states and did all he could to prevent its reaching England. He protested to the papal nuncio and wrote to his ambassador in London that the bull 'will embitter feelings in England and drive the Queen and her friends to oppress and persecute the few good Catholics who still remain there'.[2] To Elizabeth herself he wrote that no act of the pope had caused him such displeasure. Nevertheless, in 1569 Philip II had been tempted to do something about England, but this had nothing to do with papal or religious objectives. It was the result of a number of provocations of a naval and commercial nature—the English pirates, Hawkins in the Caribbean, the seizure of the duke of Alba's pay ships. He toyed with the idea of supporting the movement of rebellion in the north of England in 1569 and told Alba to hold himself at the ready.[3] After the rebellion had started—and failed—he told

[1] Van der Essen, 'Croisade contre les hérétiques ou guerre contre des rebelles', *op. cit.*, p. 58.

[2] Philip II to D'Espés, 30 June 1570, *C.S.P. Spanish, Eliz.* (London, 1892–99), ii. 254.

[3] *Correspondance de Philippe II sur les affaires des Pays-Bas*, ed. L. P. Gachard (Brussels, 1848–79), ii. 63; *D.I.E.*, xc. 186–87; *C.S.P. Spanish*, ii. 108–109. See also P. O. de Törne, *Don Juan d'Autriche et les projets de conquête de l'Angleterre, 1568–1578* (Helsingfors, 1915–28), i. 42 ff.

Alba to prepare an armed attack against Elizabeth, arguing that the way of force seemed the only way left to him.[1] But the decision to move had to come from Alba who regarded himself as the arbiter of Spanish policy in northern Europe and who was wise enough to see the folly of attempting any expedition; in his view more could be gained by negotiation.[2] In 1571 Philip reacted in a similar manner to the Ridolfi plot. Ridolfi had no credit with the duke of Alba but he got the blessing of the pope, who for some time had been pressing Philip to do something for English Catholics. In July the king urged Alba to prepare an expedition against England in order to co-operate in the dethronement of Elizabeth and the substitution of Mary Queen of Scots.[3] But this order need not be taken seriously, for once again the initiative was left to Alba. He tersely advised the king that the conspirators were not to be trusted, and once again Philip accepted his advice. After the failure of the Ridolfi plot Philip II remained indifferent to the fate of English Catholics, whose numbers and weakness did not serve his policy.

Consequently there was no co-operation between Philip II and Gregory XIII for an enterprise of England. Throughout the 1570's Philip consistently ignored papal proposals for an attack on England. The defence of his interests in the Low Countries, in Portugal and in America were more pressing problems than the launching of a crusade against Elizabeth. And when he finally decided to organize an expedition for the invasion of England, it was for a series of political and economic reasons rather than religious ones. The Armada was regarded as part of the defence system of the Spanish empire, which would repulse the English attack on it by striking at its roots. Philip II wanted the co-operation of the papacy for financial reasons and for moral support in his claim to dispose of the crown of England. He might have procured this from Gregory XIII, but Sixtus V was much more difficult.

The election of Sixtus V in April 1585 was a blow to Philip's

[1] Philip II to Alba, 16 December 1569, *D.I.E.*, xxxviii. 258; Philip II to Alba, 24 December 1569, *ibid.*, p. 273.

[2] Gachard, *op. cit.*, ii. 70; A. Teulet, *Relations politiques de la France et de l'Espagne avec l'Ecosse au XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1862), v. 597, 603.

[3] Philip II to Alba, 14 July 1571, Gachard, *op. cit.*, ii. 185–88. See also Törne, *op. cit.*, i. 112–13.

hopes. Both men personally disliked each other. Moreover, the energetic and independent character of the new pope soon showed itself in a series of disputes over jurisdiction and protocol, so that when the Armada was being prepared, both sovereigns were squabbling over whether the papal nuncio in Spain should be styled 'monsignor' or 'monsignor reverendissimo'.[1] It is true that both king and pope had an interest in England, but it was not the same interest. Moved by his suspicion of Philip II and Spanish power, Sixtus at first preferred a peaceful approach to Elizabeth.[2] This policy was based on a serious miscalculation—that the queen could be converted to Catholicism—and naturally earned the contempt of Philip. 'It would seem', he remarked in the margin of his ambassador's letter, 'that the war in Flanders does not appear to him a great undertaking, nor that he knows what it costs. He is deceived about England and labours under a delusion'.[3] After the execution of Mary Stuart, the pope himself ceased to be deceived, yet he never ceased to admire Elizabeth, constantly comparing her favourably with Philip and constrasting her successes with his failures.[4] In the final analysis, however, the pope could not oppose Philip's attack on England. He had not the means of doing so and in any case he could not ignore the interests of Catholicism, however low these might be in Philip's list of priorities. Therefore, while he regretted the necessity of the Armada and deplored Spanish slowness, he gave it his financial as well as his moral support in the treaty of July 1587.[5] In addition he made great efforts to extract from Henry III at least a promise of French neutrality.[6] Yet it was an uneasy alliance. At the level of jurisdiction the running fight between pope and king continued with its usual acrimony, and a series of minor disputes over titles, precedence, protocol and jurisdiction were raised into huge issues and ran currently with the preparation of the Armada, so that the two allies presented no united front and the pope was openly speaking of excommunicating the king of Spain.[7] Philip

[1] J. A. von Hübner, *Sixte-Quint* (Paris, 1870), i. 329; ii. 500–504.

[2] Hübner, *op. cit.*, i. 364–71.

[3] Olivares to Philip II, 4 June 1585, *ibid.*, iii. 4–5.

[4] *Ibid.*, i. 372; ii. 476, 495.

[5] Text of the Treaty of 29 July 1587 in A. O. Meyer, *England and the Catholic Church under Queen Elizabeth*, Eng. trans. (London, 1916), pp. 520–23.

[6] Hübner, *op. cit.*, i. 392–94.

[7] Pastor, *op. cit.*, xxi. 269.

ceased writing to the pope and only communicated with him through his ambassador. The Venetian ambassador in Rome reported Sixtus as saying: 'The king and his Armada are becoming ridiculous, while Queen Elizabeth knows how to manage her affairs. If that woman were only a Catholic, she would be loved by us more than any other sovereign, for she has great qualities. . . . That Spanish Armada gives us anxiety. We have strong presentiments that it will not succeed'.[1] In the spring of 1588 the pope was full of pessimism and confided to the French ambassador that everything was going from bad to worse, that Philip was constantly asking for the subsidy which he had promised, but which he had promised only when success had attended their efforts and the expedition had landed.[2] From Philip's point of view, therefore, the alliance was not even bringing the money he hoped for and needed.

After the defeat of the Armada there was even less chance of persuading Sixtus to pay the subsidy. The Spanish ambassador in Rome, the count of Olivares, on hearing of the disaster from the duke of Parma, was the first to tell the pope of it, and a series of stormy audiences followed. According to the terms of the treaty for the subsidies the pope owed the king a million *escudos*, which the ambassador now claimed. The pope refused to pay on the grounds that the provisions of the treaty did not apply to this payment, which was only due in the event of a landing being made in England, and he told Olivares to drop the subject. 'I find him', reported the ambassador, 'very lukewarm in his tokens of satisfaction whenever good news comes from Spain and not much affected by bad news from that quarter. Envy of Your Majesty's greatness and his horror at parting with money act more powerfully upon his nature than do the welfare of the church and zeal to see the annihilation of heresy in the world'.[3] The failure of the Armada, in fact, ruined the already tenuous relations between the two allies. Irritated in the extreme, Sixtus V began to doubt the power and capacity of Philip II and to reproach himself for having wasted his time and money. Unimpressed by Philip's difficulties and urgent demands, he never payed the million *escudos*. He now argued that he had never advised the sending of the Armada; the king had only been interested in subduing England

[1] Hübner, *op. cit.*, i. 389–91. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 396.
[3] Olivares to Philip II, 26 September 1588, *ibid.*, iii. 257–61.

and adding to his empire, while the last thing he had thought of was the restoration of Catholicism, which was the essential condition for the pope. It was more than simply want of faith, however, that made Sixtus V reserved towards his ally. He admitted that he was like a fly compared to an elephant before the king on whose dominions the sun never set.[1] The failure of the Armada, therefore, had its compensations. No more than any other sovereign in Europe did he want a universal monarchy under Philip II. He never disguised his opinion on the subject. To the Venetian envoy he more than once expressed his wish for a balance of power in Europe: 'Great Christian princes require a counterpoise; for if one prevails the others run the risk of giving in on many things which he may ask for'.[2] This was one of the reasons why he was anxious for the security of France. It was over the French problem, the final issue between Philip II and the papacy, that relations between the two completely collapsed and in which their religious as well as their political interests most clearly diverged.

In September 1585 Henry of Navarre and Henry of Bourbon were declared heretics and pronounced incapable of succeeding to the throne of France.[3] Sixtus V soon regretted this mistake, which was due partly to his inexperience and partly to Spanish influence, and began to favour a policy of conciliation towards Henry of Navarre in the hope of his conversion. If Philip II, exploiting religious conflicts, succeeded in getting the crown of France, how could the pope then resist his power, which would dominate almost the entire Catholic world? And would he not then increase his pressure in Italy? The interests of religion as well as of politics caused the pope to work in France against the Spanish party and the League. In the mind of the king of Spain the question of the succession was the essential issue, while it was only secondary in the eyes of Sixtus V. To become eligible in the eyes of the papacy Henry of Navarre had only to return to Catholicism. Philip foresaw this and therefore he had to argue that his conversion could only be a pretence, for he refused to countenance the candidature of Henry on any account. Consequently in the years 1587–88 he made it clear to the pope that if he accepted Henry's conversion and candidature, then he would

[1] Pastor, *op. cit.*, xxi. 273.
[2] Hübner, *op. cit.*, ii. 516.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 168.

oppose it and fight, even if it meant the dismemberment of France.[1] When, however, Henry of Navarre ascended the throne without abjuring Protestantism, then not even Sixtus V could avoid moving towards Spain and the League. In September 1589 he appointed as legate in France Cardinal Caetani who was completely identified with the Spanish party and particularly agreeable to the king of Spain.[2] Sixtus now thought there was no alternative to relying on Spanish power, in spite of the political risks involved, and he believed he was acting in the interests of religion, for, as he said, 'we care more for religion than we do for France'.[3] But he soon repented of his change of policy when he began to see that there was something to be hoped for from Henry of Navarre. At the beginning of 1590 he received in audience the duke of Luxembourg who, as official representative of the Catholic supporters of Henry of Navarre but in reality sent by the king himself, had instructions to improve relations between Henry and the Roman Curia. Sixtus began to favour a reconciliation with the French monarchy on grounds of personal sympathy and of policy. Spanish opinion was outraged. Philip II and his ministers tried everything they knew to force the pope to dismiss Luxembourg, which provoked Sixtus into replying that he would listen 'to the devil himself if he came here'.[4] Eventually Philip instructed his ambassador, Olivares, to force the pope to ratify the promises made in his favour and in particular to dismiss the duke of Luxembourg, to excommunicate all French prelates who were supporters of Henry of Navarre, and to declare that as a relapsed heretic the latter could not be admitted to the bosom of the church and was incapable of succeeding to the throne of France.[5] The pope was unwilling to do any of these things, and after Olivares had had recourse to intimidation, threatening schism and coercive measures, there took place between them that violent interview in which Olivares in the name of his king threatened the pope with a public protest against his conduct, while Sixtus called the count a 'criminal, scandalous creature, the cause of all these troubles', and threatened to expel him from Rome.[6] Philip tried another ambassador and maintained the pressure, with some apparent success. He received the promise that Rome would never recognize as king of France anyone who

[1] Hübner, *op. cit.*, ii, pp. 172–76. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 248–49.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 248. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 288. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 298. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 307.

did not have the approval of Philip II; Luxembourg ceased to receive audience; and on 19 July 1590 an offensive and defensive alliance was concerted between the pope and the Spanish ambassador.[1] But this was merely a draft of a convention and not a signed treaty. Moreover, the pope always found new pretexts for modifying the fulfilment of this agreement and he successfully refused to commit himself to Spain. Consequently the news of his death in August 1590 was received with relief in Spain in the conviction that there could not possibly be another pope who was a greater enemy of Spaniards. Clement VIII, however, was equally reluctant to serve Spanish policy. Unwilling to oppose the victorious and converted Henry IV simply to satisfy Spanish interests, or to provoke a schism between France and Rome for purely political reasons that had little to do with the papacy, in September 1595 the pope absolved and recognized the monarch whom Philip II still considered simply as the prince of Béarn and a relapsed heretic and with whom he had been at war since January of the same year.

The conflict between Philip II and the papacy over France summarizes the essential issues between the two. Philip II believed that he had the right to tell the pope what was best for the church. The pope believed that Philip was confusing what was best for the church with what was best for Spanish interests. In the midst of the stormy interviews with Olivares, Sixtus V wrote to Philip II reminding him of the obligation under which the pope was to listen to heretics, protesting against the threats of councils and schisms, and declaring that he could not admit that secular princes should constitute themselves judges of the Vicar of Christ.[2] Philip II's view of papal obligations and his own rights was quite different. In his answer to the pope he wrote:

> Nothing has surprised me more than to see your Holiness, after an act inspired by God (the bull against Henry of Navarre) leaving time to the heretics to take root in France, without even ordering that the Catholic partisans of 'the Béarnais' should separate from his cause. The Church is on the eve of losing one of its members; Christendom is on the point of being set on fire by the united heretics; Italy runs the greatest danger, and in the presence of the enemy we look on and we

[1] *Ibid.*, ii. 351–52; iii. 477–91. [2] *Ibid.*, ii. 304.

> temporize! And the blame is put upon me because, looking at those interests as if they were mine, I hasten to your Holiness as to a father whom I love and respect, and as a good son remind him of the duties of the Holy See! By God's mercy, where have you found in the whole course of my life reasons for thinking of me as you tell me men think of me, and by what right do you tell it me? God and the whole world know my love for the Holy See, and nothing will ever make me deviate from it, not even your Holiness by the great injustice you do me in writing such things to me. But the greater my devotion the less I shall consent to your failing in your duty towards God and towards the Church, who have given you the means of acting; and, at the risk of being importunate to your Holiness and displeasing you, I shall insist on your setting to the task.[1]

In the pope's eyes the task was one of serving Spanish political interests in France. But Philip II was not the first ruler, nor the last, to believe that his own interests and those of religion were identical.

[1] Hübner, *op. cit.*, iii. 451.

LES CAHORSINS, HOMMES D'AFFAIRES FRANÇAIS DU XIII^e SIÈCLE

By Yves Renouard, Professor at the Sorbonne

READ 12 MARCH 1960

LES marchands de Cahors ou Cahorsins ont joué un rôle de quelque importance dans la vie économique et financière de l'Angleterre au XIII^e siècle. En 1948, M. Denholm-Young terminait le solide article qu'il leur consacrait[1] en suggérant que l'emploi, de plus en plus courant à partir du milieu du XIII^e siècle, du terme 'cahorsin' au sens d'usurier découlait de l'ampleur de l'activité commerciale des marchands de Cahors dans l'Europe du Nord-Ouest durant la période antérieure; le déclin de leur commerce à la fin du XIII^e siècle n'aurait plus permis de comprendre le sens primitif et simple du mot 'cahorsin', tandis que la prospérité persistante des hommes d'affaires italiens, dont ils avaient été d'abord les concurrents souvent heureux, aurait maintenu l'intelligence du premier sens du terme parallèle 'lombard', dont étaient affublés les usuriers au XIV^e siècle. En 1950, M. Wolff reprenait la même hypothèse dans une communication au Congrès des Sociétés savantes du Sud-Ouest de la France,[2] réuni précisément à Cahors, auquel j'avais moi-même présenté des faits qui la renforçaient.[3] Je voudrais ajouter aujourd'hui à cette évocation du rôle des marchands de Cahors dans la vie économique de la Chrétienté au XIII^e siècle quelques traits nouveaux que m'ont révélés mes recherches sur l'histoire du duché d'Aquitaine et essayer de faire ressortir et d'expliquer le singulier éclat et la brièveté de leur trajectoire économique.

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Le Quercy, ancienne *civitas* des Cadurques dont Cahors était

[1] N. Denholm-Young, 'The Merchants of Cahors', *Medievalia et Humanistica*, iv (1946), pp. 37–44.

[2] Ph. Wolff, 'Le problème des Cahorsins', *Annales du Midi*, lxii (1950), pp. 229–38.

[3] Y. Renouard, 'Communication à travers l'isthme aquitain au Moyen Age: de la Méditerranée à Cahors et à la Rochelle', *Mélanges Louis Halphen* (Paris, 1950), pp. 589–93.

le chef-lieu, est constitué de plateaux calcaires secs et steppiques où l'élevage du mouton est la seule activité économique, coupés de vallées verdoyantes où prospèrent la vigne sur les éboulis aux pieds des versants, les céréales, les légumineuses et la prairie dans les parties les plus proches des rivières. Cette polyculture ancienne nourrissait au Moyen Age une population relativement plus abondante que celle d'aujourd'hui. Les Quercynois se groupaient dans des villages et dans quelques agglomérations plus importantes, d'âge et d'origine divers: une ancienne ville, Cahors, établie dans l'abri naturel constitué par un méandre presque entièrement fermé du Lot, devenue cité par la résidence de l'évêque;[1] des bourgs nés auprès d'un monastère important comme Figeac ou d'un château comme Gourdon, Martel, Montcuq, Cajarc et Castelnau-Montratier.

Les ressources naturelles du pays ne comprenaient que deux produits qui fussent susceptibles d'alimenter artisanat et commerce: la laine des moutons des Causses, qui est tissée par une draperie active depuis le XI^e^ siècle, semble-t-il, et le vin des côtes calcaires, dont la qualité paraît réputée depuis le VII^e^ siècle où Saint Didier, évêque de Cahors, en envoyait à son ami Paul, évêque de Verdun.[2] Ces vins, particulièrement renommés tout au long des siècles parmi les divers crûs du vignoble gascon,[3] ne pouvaient être exportés en quantités considérables que par le cours du Lot, qui les portait à la Garonne; celle-ci les acheminait vers Bordeaux, la Gironde et le cas échéant jusqu'à l'Océan. Mais, si Cahors avait l'avantage d'être située à la tête de la section navigable du cours du Lot, celui-ci ne pouvait néanmoins porter en aval de la ville que de petits bateaux: des rochers et des rapides en rendaient la navigation périlleuse pour des embarcations de quelque importance aux confins du Quercy et de l'Agenais.[4]

Ces produits, les draps et les vins, étaient deux des marchan-

[1] La plus commode étude sur l'histoire de Cahors est la notice qu'a consacrée à cette ville F. Lot, *Recherches sur la population et la superficie des cités remontant à la période gallo-romaine*, 2^ème^ partie (*Bibl. de l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes*, fasc. 296, Paris, 1950), pp. 188–240.

[2] 'de Falerno nobile vel vascula decem', *M.G.H., Epistolae Merovingici et Carolingici aevi*, éd. Arndt (Berlin, 1892), p. 209.

[3] Clément Marot, Cahorsin, chanta le vin de Cahors et l'introduisit sur la table de François I^er^.

[4] R. Dion, *Histoire de la vigne et du vin en France des origines au XIX^e^ siècle* (Paris, 1959), p. 380.

dises fondamentales du grand commerce médiéval; mais diverses régions du Bassin Aquitain les produisaient également. Ils ne semblent donc pas avoir été susceptibles, à eux seuls, du fait de leur abondance relative en Quercy, de donner à Cahors une importance internationale.

L'élément qui semble avoir favorisé l'essor de cette ville et de cette région, c'est leur situation en bordure du Massif Central, sur le premier passage facile d'Est en Ouest qui se trouve au Sud de ce Massif. Que la voie romaine de Lyon à Bordeaux passât, comme le voulait Jullian, par Saint-Rambert, Craponne, Brioude et Aurillac[1] ou, comme le retient Besnier, par Saint-Paulien et Rodez,[2] elle franchissait le Lot à Cahors avant de gagner Agen. Elle y croisait une route venue du littoral méditerranéen, qui, après s'être détachée de la voie Domitienne à Agde, avait franchi les Cévennes entre Lodève et Millau, d'où elle arrivait par Rodez; au-delà de Cahors, cette route poursuivait vers le Nord-Ouest, jusqu'à Saintes par Périgueux et Angoulême; peut-être un de ses prolongements atteignait-il finalement l'Océan Atlantique à Angoulins.[3] D'autre part, deux routes partant de Cahors vers le Sud l'unissaient l'une à Toulouse, l'autre par la vallée de la Save à *Lugdunum Convenarum*, plus tard Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges, au pied des Pyrénées. C'est sans doute à la multiplicité des directions procurées par ce carrefour routier, sis de surcroît au passage d'un fleuve relativement navigable en aval, que Cahors doit son importance au Haut Moyen Age: le nombre et la beauté des monuments qu'y fit construire ou réédifier Saint Didier attestent qu'elle était une ville riche et peuplée au VII[e] siècle.[4]

Les circonstances démographiques, politiques et religieuses précisèrent encore ce rôle à l'époque féodale. A partir du X[e] siècle, le tracé des quatre grandes routes qui conduisent à Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle se définit peu à peu: l'une de ces routes, qui part du Puy, où s'est installé l'ancien évêque de Saint-Paulien,

[1] C. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, v (Paris, 1920), p. 92, n. 3.

[2] 'Carte provisoire des routes gallo-romaines dressée d'après les travaux de Maurice Besnier complétés à la date de 1937', *Revue des Etudes Anciennes*, 1956, p. 291.

[3] *Ibid.*, et Jullian, *op. cit.*, p. 92, n. 2.

[4] *La vie de Saint Didier, évêque de Cahors (630–655)*, éd. R. Poupardin (Paris, 1900), pp. 17–18.

passe par Aubrac, Conques, Figeac et Marcilhac;[1] elle traverse le Lot à Cahors après avoir longé le flanc méridional de la cathédrale, où fut bientôt érigé, pour l'édification des pélerins, un magnifique portail sculpté; puis par Moissac, Lectoure et Condom, elle gagne Aire sur l'Adour et le col de Roncevaux. Cahors se trouve donc au point où cette importante route de la Chrétienté qui va du Nord-Est au Sud-Ouest de l'Europe occidentale croise la principale route de terre qui, à travers l'isthme aquitain, unit la Méditerranée à l'Océan Atlantique. Celle-ci, qui double à cent kilomètres au Nord la voie semi-fluviale de la vallée de l'Aude et de la Garonne de Narbonne à Bordeaux par le col de Naurouze et Toulouse, prend, semble-t-il, elle aussi, plus d'importance à partir du XI[e] siècle. Si les vins utilisent à peu près exclusivement la voie d'eau à cause de sa douceur et de sa souplesse, les marchandises de luxe importées d'Orient, dont la valeur est grande sous un faible volume, prennent de préférence la voie de terre, sans doute plus rapide au total; elles en supportent aisément les frais plus élevés: qu'importe que cette voie soit abrupte et, entre Lodève et Millau, franchisse les Cévennes, puisque l'on n'y utilise pas de chariots dont les cahots briseraient les épices et couperaient les soieries: on transporte ces marchandises précieuses à dos de bêtes de somme qui parcourent sans peine ces chemins difficiles où le dallage romain est depuis longtemps disjoint.

Or, au XII[e] siècle, aux deux extrémités de cette route, sur la Méditerranée comme sur l'Océan Atlantique, surgissent et croissent deux villes nouvelles dont le commerce maritime fait la rapide et grande fortune: Montpellier, apparue au XI[e] siècle, à cinquante kilomètres à l'Est d'Agde, et qui se relie bien vite directement à Lodève,[2] et la Rochelle, fondée au début du XII[e] siècle par le duc d'Aquitaine.[3] Cahors, par ailleurs en relations aisées par terre avec Toulouse, par eau avec Bordeaux, se trouve ainsi au carrefour des deux principales routes de terre qui relient la vallée du Rhône à la Péninsule Ibérique et le littoral méditerranéen au littoral atlantique. Si la première est surtout empruntée par les pélerins, la seconde est une route de marchands. Grâce à

[1] *Le guide du pélerin de Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle*, éd. J. Vielliard (Mâcon, 1950), chap. I, p. 2; E. Lambert, 'Le livre de Saint-Jacques et les routes du pélerinage en France', dans le recueil de ses articles intitulé *Etudes Médiévales* (Paris, 1956), i, pp. 150–51, iv. p. 6 (carte).

[2] A. Germain, *Histoire de la commune de Montpellier* (Montpellier, 1851), 3 vols. [3] M. Delafosse, *La Rochelle, ville océane* (La Rochelle, 1953).

elle, malgré sa situation éminemment terrienne au centre de l'isthme aquitain, Cahors peut entrer en relations avec l'Orient méditerranéen aussi bien qu'avec les pays de la Manche et de la Mer du Nord.

Une situation aussi privilégiée semble présager la fortune. Cette fortune, ce sont les hommes qui l'ont faite en mettant à profit les ressources dont ils disposaient. Des routes s'ouvraient à eux dans toutes les directions sauf vers le Nord où les hautes terres formaient barrière. Ils les ont prises résolument dès qu'au XII^e^ siècle, à la suite des Croisades, la circulation se ranime en Occident et que la vie de relations retrouve l'intensité de l'époque romaine. Deux autres grands chemins de Saint-Jacques croisaient la route Méditerranée-Atlantique, l'un à Périgueux, l'autre à Saintes.[1] Or, ni Saintes, vieille cité, port d'estuaire sur la Charente, que l'essor de la Rochelle semble avoir étouffée, ni Périgueux, dont les environs sont pauvres en marchandises susceptibles d'être exportées, n'ont lancé leurs fils sur les routes du monde; elles se sont bornées à voûter leurs grandes églises de files de coupoles selon le procédé, venu de Constantinople par quelque port méditerranéen, dont Cahors leur a donné l'exemple avec sa cathédrale:[2] l'alignement le long de la route Cahors-la Rochelle des églises à coupoles d'Aquitaine souligne bien que celle-ci constitue un axe des influences d'Orient, même si, comme il est naturel, la plupart de ces églises ont été édifiées le long de cet axe aux points les plus proches des carrières de pierres dures, nécessaires à la solidité des grandes coupoles, que la route précisément permettait d'apporter par chariots.[3] La comparaison entre des villes dont la situation par rapport au réseau routier est strictement semblable souligne la vertu propre des habitants de Cahors et du Quercy: Périgourdins, Angoumoisins, Saintais ont accueilli les ateliers constructeurs de coupoles et les idées venues d'Orient qu'ils apportaient; ils n'ont nullement été portés à faire commerce avec ces pays lointains vers lesquels conduisait une des deux grandes routes qui se croisaient dans leur ville; de même, les Toulousains, dont la ville était établie dans une position

[1] E. Lambert, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 148 et 150; iv, p. 6 (carte).

[2] R. Rey, *La Cathédrale de Cahors et les origines de l'architecture à coupoles d'Aquitaine* (Cahors, 1925).

[3] J. Hubert, 'Les routes du Moyen Age', *Les routes de France depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris, 1959), p. 34.

homologue à celle de Cahors, au centre de la voie semi-fluviale qui unissait les deux mers, n'ont jamais été attirés par le commerce ni vers l'une ni vers l'autre: on ne les rencontre ni à Marseille, ni à Montpellier, ni à Bordeaux. Seule parmi les anciennes cités du Midi de la France, Cahors a connu un essor commercial considérable au XII^e siècle; elle a développé ses entreprises en s'appuyant sur toute sa région, parce qu'elle manquait de puissance économique à l'origine, et en participant à l'activité bouillonnante des deux villes nouvelles, qui croissaient comme des champignons aux deux extrémités méditerranéenne et atlantique de la route dont elle tenait le centre et qui la mettaient en relations avec tous les pays du monde. Les productions du Quercy et le nœud de routes constitué par Cahors permettaient de soutenir un commerce actif, mais ils ne le suscitaient assurément pas dans une ville si foncièrement continentale. Il paraît difficile de ne pas attribuer à l'esprit d'initiative de quelques marchands ou de quelques familles de marchands en rapports avec les milieux marseillais, montpelliérain et rochelais l'essor imprévisible et bientôt international des activités de cette modeste ville de l'intérieur.

* * *

Il est significatif que les premiers Cahorsins et Quercynois dont les textes révèlent la présence hors de leur ville et de leur région se trouvent en 1178 et 1179 dans les ports de la Méditerranée, à Saint-Gilles et à Marseille, en 1199 à la Rochelle sur l'Atlantique. Ce n'est pas le chemin de Saint-Jacques qui est l'axe essentiel du commerce de Cahors, mais la route des deux mers dont elle occupe le centre et aux deux extrémités de laquelle ses enfants apparaissent déjà établis, lorsque l'abondance relative des documents rend perceptible l'expansion économique du Quercy. En 1178, parmi les 135 changeurs de Saint-Gilles qui acceptent la nouvelle réglementation des consuls figurent un 'Stefanus de Caors' et aussi un 'Johannes de Peitou', peut-être venu du Poitou par Cahors;[1] en 1179, les draps de Gourdon et de Figeac figurent dans la leude de Saint-Gilles;[2] on les retrouve dans le traité conclu

[1] Paris, Arch. Nat. J. 304, Toulouse II, no. 16; *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, i (éd. Teulet), p. 288.

[2] E. Bligny-Bondurand, *Les coutumes de Saint-Gilles*, p. 236; J. Dossat, 'La société méridionale à la veille de la Croisade albigeoise', *Revue historique et littéraire du Languedoc*, i (1944), pp. 66–87 (p. 16 du tiré à part).

le 22 juillet 1190 entre l'évêque de Fréjus et les consuls de Gênes et renouvelé en 1204, à propos du trafic des textiles à la foire de Fréjus.[1] En 1199, la députation de la communauté de la Rochelle qui vient à Niort demander à la reine-mère Aliénor, duchesse d'Aquitaine, la concession d'une charte de commune et qui l'obtient sous la forme des Etablissements de Rouen comprend un personnage appelé Aimery de Cahors.[2]

Ensuite, dans les premières années du XIII[e] siècle, les terriens que sont les marchands de Cahors et du Quercy n'hésitent pas, à partir des ports où conduit la grand'route, à pousser au-delà des mers qui les baignent: en 1200, ils obtiennent des privilèges en Sicile, en commun avec les marchands de Marseille, de Montpellier et de Saint-Gilles,[3] voisinage qui marque leur importance; en 1205, se rencontre en Angleterre le premier Cahorsin dont la diligente patience du chanoine Albe a retrouvé la trace dans les archives.[4]

Ce n'est que plus tard, à l'occasion de la Croisade contre les Albigeois, que les documents font connaître leur activité en Languedoc. Cahors demeura foncièrement orthodoxe[5] et c'est au service de la cause des Croisés qu'apparaissent les Cahorsins: deux marchands de Cahors, Raymond et Elie de Salvagnac ou de Salvanhic, avancent à Simon de Montfort les sommes dont il a besoin pour poursuivre l'entreprise après la première campagne victorieuse de 1209. Si la conquête du Languedoc par les Croisés reprend en 1210, c'est en partie à leur important appui que le doit Simon. Ne pouvant les rembourser, il les rémunère en nature par des dons considérables: au moment du siège de Minerve, en 1210, il leur cède les seigneuries de Pézenas, ville drapière et ville de foires, et de Tourves;[6] en mai 1211, après la prise décisive de Lavaur, il

[1] *Liber Jurium Reipublicae Januensis* (*Historiae Patriae Monumenta*, vii, Turin, 1864), cols. 360–62; R. S. Lopez, *Studi sull'economia genovese nel medio evo*, ii (*Le origini dell'arte della lana*, Turin, 1936) p. 76; H. Laurent, *La draperie des Pays-Bas en France et dans les pays méditerranéens* (Paris, 1935), p. 69, n. 1.

[2] A. Richard, *Histoire des comtes de Poitou* (Paris, 1903), ii, p. 340.

[3] R. Pernoud, *Histoire du commerce de Marseille*, i (Paris, 1949), p. 205.

[4] E. Albe, 'Les marchands de Cahors à Londres au XIII[e] siècle', *Bulletin de la Société des Etudes du département du Lot*, 1908, pp. 31–55.

[5] Ph. Wolff, 'Cahors et le catharisme', *Bulletin de la Société des Etudes du département du Lot*, 1959, pp. 51–62.

[6] C. Devic et J. J. Vaissète, *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, viii, col. 604.

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remet à Raymond de Salvagnac tout le butin pris dans la ville.[1] Raymond de Salvagnac accompagnait Simon de Montfort: il se trouvait auprès de lui au siège de Toulouse, en 1211; le 12 mars 1212, à Carcassonne, en présence et avec le conseil de tous ses amis et alliés, Simon lui confirme solennellement tous les dons qu'il lui a faits, à lui et à son frère.[2] Il ne pouvait marquer plus nettement l'importance de leur intervention. Raymond et Elie de Salvagnac étaient évidemment, dès avant 1209, de très riches marchands. Il est symptomatique de constater qu'ils étaient établis à Montpellier, dont Raymond était bourgeois et fut consul dès 1206.[3]

C'est par Toulouse et le col du Somport que les Cahorsins dans la deuxième décade du XIII[e] siècle gagnent probablement l'Aragon: un Pierre de Cahors participe à l'administration municipale de Lérida vers 1213; l'on rencontre dans les mêmes années un Bernard de Cahors à Tudela, un Barthélemy de Cahors à Calatayud.[4] Quant au P. de Cahors qui apparaît à Salamanque, nul doute qu'il ne soit venu en Castille par le chemin de Saint-Jacques qui traversait sa ville. Si l'activité de ces derniers personnages n'est pas connue, la plupart des Cahorsins qui viennent d'être cités sont des commerçants, qui pratiquent éventuellement et parfois principalement le change des monnaies et qui, avec les revenus acquis dans le commerce, consentent des prêts à des particuliers ou à de grands personnages. Ils mènent leur action à partir de la grande route diagonale Montpellier-la Rochelle dont Cahors est le centre: les uns sont tournés vers la Provence, l'Italie, la Sicile, le Levant où les Croisades d'Orient fournissent de grandes occasions de profit aux marchands pisans, génois, marseillais, montpelliérains et narbonnais qu'ils cherchent à imiter, bien qu'ils soient, comme les Florentins et les Siennois, des

[1] 'A Raymond de Salvanhac, riche marchand natif de Cahors, riche, opulent bourgeois, le comte de Montfort dut livrer tout cet immense butin; car c'était lui qui pourvoyait à l'entretien de la Croisade et qui lui prêtait l'argent nécessaire. En paiement, il reçut des étoffes, le vin et le froment: tout le butin de Lavaur lui fut remis' (Guillaume de Tudèle, *La Chanson de la Croisade Albigeoise*, i (Paris, 1931), pp. 174–75 et notes).

[2] A. Molinier, 'Catalogue des Actes de Simon de Montfort', no. 49, *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, xxxix (1873), p. 460.

[3] Germain, *Histoire de la commune de Montpellier*, i, p. 378.

[4] Lladonosa Pujol, 'Marchands toulousains à Lérida aux XII[e] et XIII[e] siècles', *Annales du Midi*, lxviii (1956), p. 226.

gens de l'intérieur; les autres, à partir de la Rochelle, ont gagné l'Angleterre, où, arrivant avant que les marchands italiens ne se soient solidement implantés, ils trouvent, surtout s'ils sont bourgeois de la Rochelle, ville du duché d'Aquitaine, la possibilité de mener de fructueuses affaires. Il n'y a rien, dans cette activité que nous ne faisons qu'entrevoir, qui semble les distinguer des hommes d'affaires des villes toscanes. Les Cahorsins financent même dès 1210 une guerre pontificale, ce que ne feront les Guelfes florentins contre les Hohenstaufen qu'en 1265.

A partir de la deuxième décennie du XIII^e siècle, les marchands de Cahors et du Quercy sont établis dans tous les centres qui demeurèrent pendant tout ce siècle les principales bases de leurs activités.

Depuis les deux grands ports de la Méditerranée, Marseille et Montpellier, ils cherchent à développer leurs affaires vers l'Italie et l'Orient. Leurs ambitions sont si nettes que Gênes cherche à les refréner: dans la trêve, puis dans le traité de paix qu'elle conclut avec Marseille en 1203 et 1211, elle fait promettre aux Marseillais de n'admettre sur leurs navires, notamment pour commercer avec les Sarrasins, aucun homme originaire de Bourgogne, de France, de Lombardie, de Cahors ou de Figeac.[1] Les Cahorsins souffraient là du lourd handicap des habitants de l'intérieur des terres, qui ne disposent pas de bateaux pour pouvoir accéder directement aux sources orientales des épices et des étoffes de luxe. Ils n'en pénètrent pas moins, et le plus souvent à partir de Marseille, sur les grandes places du commerce méditerranéen: un Ratier de Cahors procure à Gênes en 1213 un change sur Milan à un Champenois nommé Jean de Chalons;[2] en 1256, Arnaud Efforsieu de Cahors dépensait à Acre des sommes considérables pour y maintenir les positions des Marseillais en face de la concurrence montpelliéraine.[3] Et, pendant tout le siècle, une famille d'origine rouergate, la famille de Conques, qui avait fait à Figeac la première étape de sa fortune, s'établit simultanément à

[1] Pernoud, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 187 et 191. On notera la juxtaposition des deux noms Lombardie et Cahors dans un texte où il n'est manifestement question que de commerce.

[2] R. Doehaerd, *Les relations commerciales entre Gênes, la Belgique et l'Outremont aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*, i (Bruxelles, 1941), p. 147.

[3] Pernoud, *op. cit.*, i, p. 216. *Cf.* aussi G. Lesage, *Marseille angevine* (Paris, 1950), p. 56.

Montpellier et à Marseille, où elle occupe les premières situations.[1] Raymond de Conques est consul de Montpellier en 1233, consul de Montpellier à Acre en 1236. Bernard de Conques de Figeac, son cousin, fixé à Marseille, est, à partir de 1226, l'associé du plus grand homme d'affaires marseillais du XIII[e] siècle, Bernard de Manduel. A la mort de celui-ci, en 1237, c'est Bernard de Conques qui est chargé de liquider sa succession. Il devient citoyen de Marseille en 1238 et achète de nombreux immeubles. Il restait en relations avec Figeac et s'associait parfois pour faire des affaires aux foires de Champagne avec un autre Figeacois, Guillaume Faure de Figeac. Sa grosse fortune semble être passée à un de ses parents, Hugues de Conques. Celui-ci est armateur: il arme des galères pour Charles d'Anjou, au service duquel il met son talent et sa fortune; il fait carrière dans la flotte de Charles d'Anjou, qui lui donne un important commandement, l'annoblit et lui concède des terres en Italie après la conquête de Naples. En moins d'un siècle les Conques, partis de Figeac, ont parcouru toute la trajectoire sociale habituelle des hommes d'affaires du Moyen Age: le commerce par voie de terre, l'armement, la banque, au service des particuliers, puis des rois, l'annoblissement, la possession de biens fonds et, pour finir, l'exercice d'une haute charge d'officier royal. Un cursus parallèle, mais tronqué, a été suivi par une autre famille de Figeac, les Cruzols, qui, établis à Montpellier en 1248, font une brillante fortune dans le commerce, mais connaissent la déconfiture totale en 1295.[2]

A la Rochelle, à l'autre extrémité de la route qui passait par Cahors, les affaires des Cahorsins ne prospéraient pas moins. Lorsque les habitants de la Rochelle jurent fidélité à Louis VIII qui venait de s'emparer de la ville, en 1224, quatre Cahorsins figurent à côté d'Aimery de Cahors, qui y joue depuis vingt-cinq ans un rôle important, sur la liste de ces habitants qui nous a été conservée.[3] Leur groupe de cinq est, à cette date, le groupe le plus important d'habitants de la Rochelle originaires d'une autre ville,

[1] J. Combes, 'Une famille de négociants quercynois à Montpellier et à Marseille au XIII[e] siècle', *Fédération historique du Languedoc méditerranéen et du Roussillon, XXVII[e]–XXVIII[e] congrès* (Perpignan, Saint-Gilles, 1953–54), pp. 57–59. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 59–67.

[3] Ce sont Savary, Guilhem, Robert et Benoît de Cahors. Peut-être y a-t-il deux homonymes portant le nom de Guilhem qui est répété dans la liste publiée par A. Bardonnet, 'Le serment de fidélité des habitants de la Rochelle en 1224', *Archives historiques du Poitou*, XX (1889), pp. 233–61.

à l'exception de ceux qui viennent de Tours et de Bourges. D'autres apparaissent tout au long du siècle dans les documents si dispersés qui concernent la Rochelle: l'un de ceux qui habitaient déjà la Rochelle en 1224, Savary de Cahors, en est nommé maire par le sénéchal d'Alphonse de Poitiers,[1] qu'il s'est peut-être rendu favorable par un don, en avril 1251;[2] trois autres Cahorsins demeurant à la Rochelle prêtent 140 livres tournois à Philippe le Bel au moment de la campagne de Guyenne, en 1295.[3] A la marchandise et à la banque ils ajoutent des activités connexes comme celle de monnayeurs dans laquelle ils semblent avoir excellé: ne frappaient-ils pas naturellement la monnaie des évêques de Cahors, seigneurs de leur ville, qui courait non seulement dans tout le Quercy, mais encore dans une partie du Rouergue et même à Toulouse?[4] A Millau, sur la route de Montpellier, elle avait même seule cours avant qu'Alphonse de Poitiers, étonné, n'ordonnât qu'on y reçût également sa monnaie et celle des rois de France. Et, s'avisant sans doute de l'expérience monétaire des Cahorsins, Alphonse de Poitiers en adjoignit deux, Jean de Martel, bourgeois lui aussi de la Rochelle, et Pierre d'Iaus de Cahors, bourgeois de Brioude ou de la Rochelle, selon les textes, aux trois frères de Pontlevoy, Tourangeaux, pour frapper ses monnaies dans le principal des hôtels des monnaies du comté de Poitiers, Montreuil-Bonnin, en 1267.[5] Quelques années plus tôt, en 1263, Saint Louis avait confié la direction de son hôtel des monnaies de Saint-Antonin en Quercy à Arnaud Truel de Cahors et à Pierre Vital de Martel.[6] Et, naturellement, les officiers du roi de France en Languedoc trouvent, après 1271, la possibilité d'emprunter les sommes dont ils ont besoin chez des Cahorsins, dont les comptes de 1286–1296 ne spécifient pas s'ils étaient établis à Toulouse ou demeuraient à Cahors.[7]

[1] Amos Barbot, 'Histoire de la Rochelle', *Archives historiques de Saintonge et d'Aunis*, xiv (1886).

[2] Savary de Cahors avait donné 50 livres au sénéchal de Poitou pour être nommé maire de la Rochelle selon les *Enquêtes administratives d'Alphonse de Poitiers*, éd. Fournier-Guébin (Paris, 1959), p. 30.

[3] *Comptes royaux* (*1285–1314*), éd. R. Fawtier (*Recueil des Historiens de la France, Documents Financiers*, 3 vols., Paris, 1953–56), nos. 18780 et 18810.

[4] Y. Dossat, *Les crises de l'Inquisition toulousaine au XIII^e siècle* (*1233–1273*) (Paris, 1959), pp. 92–93.

[5] E. Boutaric, *Saint Louis et Alphonse de Poitiers* (Paris, 1870), pp. 204–14.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 214. [7] Fawtier, *Comptes royaux* . . ., nos. 9960, 10068–69, 15499.

Bordeaux, rivale de la Rochelle, était demeurée sous l'autorité du roi d'Angleterre, duc d'Aquitaine. C'est vers elle que portait naturellement le cours du Lot qui arrosait Cahors. Il est normal que ce soit comme marchands de vins, exportant par cette voie d'eau les excellents produits du vignoble de Cahors, que les Cahorsins y apparaissent pour la première fois en 1225, date à laquelle Henri III les prend sous sa protection.[1] Cette date est doublement significative. Suivant d'un an celle de la perte de la Rochelle et du Poitou par le roi d'Angleterre, elle manifeste que les Anglais ont immédiatement cessé de s'approvisionner en vins dans le vignoble d'Aunis dont la Rochelle était le débouché: ils demandent désormais leur ravitaillement au vignoble gascon, qui comprend, outre le bas pays soumis au roi d'Angleterre, le haut pays dans lequel se trouve Cahors, soumis au roi de France, mais dont les vins transitent aussi nécessairement par Bordeaux. D'autre part, la première mention de Cahorsins à Bordeaux est postérieure de vingt-six ans à la première attestation de leur présence à la Rochelle: ce rapprochement tendrait à prouver qu'ils se sont hâtés, dès le début de leur essor, de porter par la voie directe de terre les épices et les produits de luxe qui leur arrivaient de Montpellier ou de Marseille. Tout se passe comme si les deux voies qui conduisaient de Cahors à l'Atlantique étaient spécialisées dans deux commerces différents: par la voie de terre, vers la Rochelle, plus chère, mais plus courte et plus rapide, à dos de bêtes de somme, les épices et les produits de valeur; par la voie d'eau, vers Bordeaux, les vins, dont c'était le seul mode possible de transport par quantités importantes. Dans les deux cas, les transporteurs pouvaient rapporter au retour des sels provenant des marais salants de l'Océan.

Tout le siècle est ponctué, surtout aux périodes de crises politiques et militaires, de saufs-conduits et de lettres de protection accordés par le roi d'Angleterre à des marchands de Cahors, sujets du roi de France, pour leur permettre d'apporter leurs marchandises jusqu'à Bordeaux.[2] Leurs possibilités financières apparaissent telles d'ailleurs que le roi n'hésite pas à leur affermer la perception de certaines redevances et à leur emprunter de

[1] *C[alendar of] P[atent] R[olls] 1216–1225*, p. 528.

[2] Ainsi sont protégés lors de la période de tension de 1242 Arnaud Poujade, les frères Guilhem Bernard et Galbert del Mouly, Guilhem et Gérard de Jean: *Rôles Gascons*, i (éd. Francisque-Michel, Paris, 1885), no. 391.

l'argent. Les termes du contrat conclu entre Jean de Grilly, sénéchal de Gascogne, et une société de marchands de Cahors, les frères Guilhem, Guibert et Pierre du Port, Jacques Dondedieu, Guilhem de Jean et consorts, à qui il afferme pour 15.000 livres de nouvelle monnaie bordelaise la grande coutume de Bordeaux, l'issac et la coutume de Royan du 14 Février 1267 au 12 Février 1268, sont significatifs: le sénéchal s'engage à ne pas les contraindre à prêter de l'argent au roi d'Angleterre, à la reine et au prince Edouard.[1] Faut-il en conclure aussi bien que, obligés de s'unir à plusieurs pour rassembler cette somme, les marchands de Cahors ne sont pas assez riches pour pouvoir faire en même temps des prêts au roi d'Angleterre? Il est évident qu'ils ne veulent pas déplaire au roi pour conserver leurs privilèges commerciaux. Guilhem de Jean réafferma d'ailleurs en 1280 et 1289 la perception de la grande coutume de Bordeaux.[2] Et cela n'empêche pas le roi d'emprunter dans les mêmes années à la société dirigée par son parent, Jacques de Jean, la grosse somme de 200 marcs de sterlings.[3]

Simultanément, les marchands cahorsins obtenaient du roi, aux mains duquel le traité d'Amiens avait fait revenir l'Agenais en 1279, la régularisation à frais communs du cours du Lot, afin de pouvoir expédier leurs vins par gros bateaux de Cahors à Bordeaux: la convention conclue le 18 Juin 1285 entre Edouard Ier, l'abbé de Saint-Maurin d'Agen, l'évêque et les consuls de Cahors, spécifiait que cette régularisation serait faite dans toute la traversée par le Lot des diocèses de Cahors et d'Agen, depuis l'amont de Cahors jusqu'au confluent de la rivière avec la Garonne.[4] Faute de connaître la quantité des vins de Cahors expédiés vers Bordeaux avant 1285, nous ne pouvons pas savoir si les expéditions s'accrurent sensiblement après les travaux; ceux-ci

[1] P.R.O., Chancery Miscellanea, 25/1/2; confirmation, le 10 janvier 1267: *C.P.R. 1266–1272*, p. 24.

[2] *The Gascon Calendar of 1322*, éd. G. P. Cuttino (*Camden third series*, lxx), nos. 758–99.

[3] *Rôles Gascons*, ii (éd. Ch. Bémont, Paris, 1900), no. 819.

[4] *Ibid.*, no. 920. Les ingénieurs cahorsins devaient être capables de diriger ces travaux de régularisation du lit du Lot: treize ans plus tard, en 1298, c'est un ingénieur de Cahors, Bernard Tichender ou Teyssandier, qui est chargé de reconstruire le pont d'Agen sur la Garonne: L. Lacroix, 'Le prix de construction d'un pont sur la Garonne à Agen au XIIIe siècle', *Revue de l'Agenais*, 1880, pp. 356–58.

furent d'ailleurs repris plusieurs fois à la fin du siècle. En tout cas, en 1303–1304, les comptes de la grande coutume de Bordeaux révèlent que 1.130 tonneaux de 900 litres de vin de Cahors furent exportés par Bordeaux. Ce chiffre place Cahors en dixième position sur la liste des villes productrices du haut pays qui exportaient leurs vins par Bordeaux: en 1303–1304, la quantité totale des vins du haut pays exportés s'éleva à 44.871 tonneaux. Viennent avant Cahors les villes d'Agen, Port-Sainte-Marie, Marmande et Moissac sur la Garonne, Montauban et Rabastens sur le Tarn, Villeneuve-sur-Lot et Penne sur le Lot, Condom sur la Baïse.[1]

Si quelques Cahorsins avaient sans doute déjà visité l'Angleterre à partir de la Rochelle avant la conquête du Poitou par le roi de France,[2] c'est surtout en partant de Bordeaux qu'ils le firent après 1225.[3] Ils se rendent en Angleterre avec leurs vins et ils s'efforcent de les y vendre.[4] Ils se consacrent à ce commerce pendant tout le XIII[e] siècle. Mais là ne se borne pas leur action: ils participent au commerce d'exportation des laines anglaises[5] et leurs ressources les mettent en situation d'affermer certaines recettes royales, comme ils le faisaient dans le duché d'Aquitaine, et de prêter bon gré mal gré au roi, aux princes et aux seigneurs. Ces activités sont tout à fait semblables à celles des marchands italiens venus par la Flandre, qui importent, eux, non pas des vins, mais des produits d'Orient et des épices; mais il n'est pas possible

[1] Données résultant du mémoire principal de diplôme d'études supérieures présenté à la Faculté des Lettres de Paris par Mademoiselle Nicole Pietri en 1958.

[2] La cession par Louis VIII à l'église de Cantorbéry, au lendemain de la soumission de la Rochelle (1224), de l'hommage et du service d'Aimery de Cahors, bourgeois de la Rochelle, et de ses héritiers est sans doute la preuve de voyages antérieurs de ce personnage important en Angleterre (Ch. Petit-Dutaillis, *Catalogue des actes de Louis VIII*, Paris, 1894, no. 147). Après avoir contribué à obtenir d'Aliénor la concession d'une charte de commune à la Rochelle, Aimery de Cahors a sans doute favorisé la soumission de la Rochelle à Louis VIII: il retire de cette attitude, avec l'exemption pour lui et ses héritiers de toute coutume sur les terres du roi de France et la reconnaissance de ses liens avec l'Angleterre, une situation à coup sûr privilégiée pour le commerce auquel il devait se livrer. [3] *Supra*, p. 54.

[4] On trouvera un relevé des importations de vins faites par les Cahorsins en Angleterre dans Ph. Wolff, 'Le problème des Cahorsins', *Annales du Midi*, lxii (1950), pp. 232–33 et notes.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 233–34: relevé des licences d'exportation de laines concédées aux Cahorsins par le roi d'Angleterre.

d'en comparer l'importance. Biens qu'ils fussent sujets du roi de France et non pas du roi d'Angleterre comme duc d'Aquitaine, les marchands de Cahors furent aussi bien accueillis en Angleterre que leurs concurrents italiens et utilisés, au même titre que ceux-ci, pour les besoins financiers de la monarchie. De 1250 à 1275 environ, où ils sont fort nombreux dans le royaume insulaire, leur place y semble aussi grande que celle des Florentins, des Siennois ou des Lucquois: en 1245, le trésorier d'Henri III s'efforce d'obtenir six mille marcs des marchands de Sienne, de Cahors, de Florence et d'ailleurs résidant dans le royaume;[1] l'ordre même de l'énumération révèle quelque incertitude géographique chez le rédacteur, mais le fait que Cahors soit seule nommée avec Sienne et Florence laisse entendre que la puissance de ses hommes d'affaires égalait en Angleterre celle des hommes d'affaires de chacune des deux grandes villes toscanes de l'intérieur des terres; on comprend alors la confusion des termes génériques 'lombards', 'cahorsins' appliqués aux uns et aux autres, et dont l'usage s'accroît au fur et à mesure qu'ils consentent des prêts de plus en plus nombreux aux grands et aux bourgeois. Mathieu Paris exprime avec plus de force que quiconque la xénophobie et la haine de leurs débiteurs dans la phrase célèbre où il les qualifie de véritable peste parce qu'ils font l'usure; mais les termes mêmes qu'il emploie soulignent involontairement qu'ils s'adonnaient d'abord au commerce.[2] C'est ce que confirme l'ampleur des importations de vins et des exportations de laines effectuées par les Cahorsins. Lorsqu'en 1271 et en 1274 Henri III, puis Edouard Ier concèdent des licences d'exportation pour des laines qui ne doivent pas passer par la Flandre, afin de contraindre le comte de Flandre à céder dans le conflit qui l'oppose au roi d'Angleterre, c'est un Cahorsin, Pierre Béraud, qui obtient la plus importante: elle vaut pour 1690 sacs, alors que les licences concédées aux compagnies toscanes ne dépassent pas un montant de 450 sacs et qu'une société parisienne en enlève 800.[3]

Les frères Béraud, Pierre et Guilhem, constituent d'ailleurs la

[1] Denholm-Young, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

[2] 'Horum etiam pestis abominanda adeo invaluit ut vix esset aliquis qui retibus illorum jam non illaquearetur. Circumveniebant enim in necessitatibus indigentes usuram sub specie negotiationis palliantes etc.' (*A.D.* 1235), cité par Du Cange, *s.v.* 'Caorcini'.

[3] Wolff, 'Le problème des Cahorsins', p. 234.

plus puissante société cahorsine établie en Angleterre dans ce troisième quart du XIII^e siècle: importateurs de vins, exportateurs de laines, fermiers de recettes royales, prêteurs envers le roi et le prince Edouard, ils concurrencent avec succès les compagnies toscanes dont ils ont toutes les activités.[1] Et, tout comme les hommes d'affaires florentins ou siennois, ils pensent à terminer leurs jours dans leur ville natale et à gagner le ciel par les fondations pieuses qu'ils y font: Arnaud Béraud achète un enclos pour établir le couvent des Frères Prêcheurs de Cahors et il en fait construire l'église, manifestant ainsi à la fois la richesse, la piété et l'orthodoxie de sa famille.[2]

A partir du dernier quart du XIII^e siècle, le rôle des Cahorsins décline en Angleterre; Florentins, Siennois et Lucquois prennent nettement le pas sur eux. C'est pourtant à cette période que se place la plus belle réussite d'un homme d'affaires cahorsin en Angleterre, celle de Guilhem Servat dont F. Arens a retracé si précisément la carrière.[3] Né au milieu du siècle, il arrive à Londres vers 1270 comme associé d'un autre Cahorsin, Arnaud Griffin. En 1281, associé avec d'autres marchands de Cahors, il vend des étoffes de soie à un tailleur et prête de l'argent à l'Echiquier au moment de la guerre d'Edouard I^er contre les princes gallois; en 1285, il multiplie les prêts aux grands personnages ecclésiastiques et laïcs; en 1290, il se rend en Norvège, en liaison avec les officiers d'Edouard I^er pour régler les emprunts que doit faire le roi de ce pays à l'occasion du mariage projeté entre sa fille Marguerite de Norvège et le prince Edouard; en 1291, il recouvre les créances qu'il avait sur le monastère cistercien de Pipperwell en s'assurant le monopole des excellentes laines de ses troupeaux; à partir de 1294, il devient le conseiller financier de l'évêque de Durham, à qui il fournit par ailleurs du vin et du sucre pour son hôtel. Comme il est depuis 1286 bourgeois de Londres, sa richesse et son rôle de grand importateur de vins le font élire échevin par le quartier de Wallbrook de 1309 à 1317; en 1313, il est désigné pour siéger au Parlement. Cette participation

[1] Sur les Béraud, *cf.* Wolff, *ibid.*, pp. 232–34; Denholm-Young, *op. cit.*, p. 42; *C.P.R. 1256–1268*, pp. 263–83 et *passim.*

[2] J. Daymard, *Le Vieux Cahors*, pp. 105–06.

[3] F. Arens, 'Wilhelm Servat von Cahors als Kaufmann zu London (1273–1320)', *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, xi (1913), pp. 477–514.

à la vie administrative et politique de Londres et de l'Angleterre n'interrompt pas ses activités commerciales et financières: il prête et emprunte à tous, il arme un navire de part à demi avec les Bardi de Florence en 1300, il importe de France un bateau entier d'épices pour les besoins de la Cour en 1303; de 1305 à 1315, il continue à importer des vins et à affermer la recette de diverses taxes en Angleterre et en Aquitaine. Fournisseur et banquier de la Cour, il sert aussi de banquier à des clercs qui se rendent à la Curie romaine ou veulent y acquitter les impôts qu'ils doivent à la Chambre Apostolique. Il est un des principaux techniciens des finances sous le règne d'Edouard II. Depuis 1305, il menait la vie large du patricien qu'il était devenu: il avait obtenu l'autorisation d'ériger une tour sur sa maison et de la couvrir d'étain. Lorsqu'il meurt en 1320, Guilhem Servat est un des hommes les plus riches et les plus puissants de Londres. Arens conclut fort justement qu'il n'est pas prêteur d'argent par profession, mais qu'il ne refuse aucune des occasions qui se présentent à lui de faire un profit: il est avant tout marchand de vins, de soieries, d'épices et de draps qu'il importe et de laines qu'il exporte: mais il est capable, le cas échéant, d'affrêter ou d'armer des bateaux; et il est en même temps agent financier, chargé de missions par le roi, garant des emprunts de celui-ci et son banquier. Son rayon d'action s'étend de la Provence et de l'Aquitaine à la Norvège. Il a exactement les mêmes activités que les hommes d'affaires italiens et, comme certains d'entre eux, tels les Lucquois à Paris au XIV^e siècle, il s'acclimate dans le pays où il vit et travaille: il épouse une Anglaise, devient bourgeois de Londres, fait souche d'Anglais. Mais cette activité multiforme est l'expression poussée à son apogée par un homme particulièrement entreprenant et heureux, d'un milieu économique actif qui a développé ses relations avec l'Angleterre depuis près d'un siècle au moins lorsqu'il y arriva.

Est-ce par la Rochelle, est-ce par Limoges vers laquelle s'ouvre à partir de Cahors une route de plus en plus fréquentée au XIII^e siècle, est-ce par les vallées du Rhône et de la Saône où cependant l'érudition ne les a guère encore rencontrés, que les hommes d'affaires de Cahors ont gagné les foires de Champagne? Nous ne le savons pas. Mais le fait est qu'en 1216 des changeurs de Cahors se trouvaient déjà à Troyes.[1] Leur présence, ainsi que

[1] F. Bourquelot, *Etudes sur les foires de Champagne* (Paris, 1865), p. 150.

celle d'autres Quercynois,[1] comme prêteurs et financiers plus que comme marchands, y est attestée fréquemment désormais: ils prêtent à des particuliers, à la commune de Provins, tel Jacques de Jean, au comte de Champagne.[2] L'un d'eux, Galhard de Lart, afferme la frappe des monnaies de celui-ci dans ses hôtels des monnaies de Provins, Troyes et Meaux en 1224;[3] dès 1219, la comtesse lui avait concédé ainsi qu'à Bertrand de Jean deux maisons à Provins.[4] Et comme en Angleterre, certains d'entre eux font des fortunes brillantes: ici le plus remarquable est un marchand de Montcuq qui, arrivé à Troyes dans les premières années du XIII[e] siècle et y ayant épousé la fille d'un riche bourgeois, acquiert de grandes propriétés et devient chambellan du comte de Champagne et maire de Troyes à trois reprises.[5] Bernard de Montcuq, à la différence de Guilhem Servat, est un homme d'affaires qui devient exclusivement fonctionnaire, destinée si fréquente en France.

De la Rochelle, d'Angleterre ou de Champagne, les Cahorsins sont conduits vers la Flandre par le mouvement même des échanges. On les y rencontre dès 1230 où le pape Grégoire IX demande à l'évêque de Tournai de poursuivre les Cahorsins qui pratiquent le prêt usuraire à Ypres.[6] Une lettre de la comtesse Marguerite de Flandre révèle leur présence à la foire de Lille avant 1267 où, comme les marchands de Castille, de Portugal, d'Aragon, de Navarre, de Gascogne et de Catalogne, les 'marchands de Caersins' venaient vendre des laines et acheter des draps qu'ils exportaient ensuite par Bruges.[7] Ils adressent en 1282 une requête au comte pour que le poids de Bruges soit muni d'une balance à plateaux et de poids fixes.[8] Le fait que dans ces textes les marchands

[1] Sur la présence de Figeacois aux foires de Champagne, *cf.* L. d'Alauzier, 'Les Figeacois et le grand commerce jusqu'en 1350', *Bulletin de la Société des Etudes du département du Lot*, 1954, pp. 223–34, et 'Consuls de Cajarc et foires de Champagne', *Annales du Midi*, lxiii (1951), pp. 79–80.

[2] Sur toutes leurs activités, *cf.* Bourquelot, *op. cit.*, pp. 150–53.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 152.

[4] *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, ii, p. 494, no. 1376.

[5] E. Chapin, *Etudes sur les villes de foires de Champagne* (Paris, 1937), pp. 120–21, 124, 156.

[6] *Lettres de Grégoire IX*, éd. L. Auvray (Paris, 1896), no. 392.

[7] Cette lettre a été publiée par J. Finot, *Les relations commerciales et maritimes entre la Flandre et l'Espagne au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1899), pièce no. 1, pp. 315–16.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 24–29.

de Cahors soient énumérés avec ceux des pays de la Péninsule Ibérique et ceux de Gascogne laisse entendre qu'ils venaient sans doute à Bruges, surtout par mer, de la Rochelle.

Enfin, à la fin du XIII[e] siècle, ils apparaissent à Paris, où les fils de Raymond de Salvagnac, entrés dans les ordres, occupaient d'importants bénéfices ecclésiastiques; mais ils y sont très peu nombreux en comparaison des hommes d'affaires toscans et des personnages qualifiés de 'lombards'. Le Livre de la taille de 1292[1] mentionne sur la paroisse Saint-Gervais un Jehan Caoursin, dont le sergent qui le suit sur la liste doit être le commis, et, sur la paroisse Saint-Jacques, un Hugues et un Huguet de Caours et surtout, dans la grande rue Saint-Jacques, un Estienne de Caours, dont la cote (24 livres parisis) égale celle des représentants de certaines compagnies toscanes; dans le Livre de la taille de 1313[2] Etienne de Cahors est désigné comme hôtelier, profession toute proche de la marchandise et de la banque, et paie la somme toujours considérable de 19 livres 10 s. parisis. A côté de lui ne figure, à cette date, qu'un Bernard de Caours associé à Guillaume de Belines, dont les cotes, 6 et 9 livres parisis, sont parmi les plus élevées de la paroisse Saint-Eustache. Quelques années plus tard, Guy de Cahors dirige la frappe de la monnaie d'or sous Philippe le Long.[3]

Ainsi, au cours du XIII[e] siècle, les marchands de Cahors et du Quercy ont tissé à partir de leur ville et de leur pays un filet d'activités qui s'entre-croisent aux noeuds principaux du commerce occidental: Montpellier et Marseille au Sud-Est avec des prolongements vers l'Italie et l'Orient latin, les foires de Champagne et Bruges au Nord-Est, Londres et l'Angleterre au Nord, la Rochelle et Bordeaux à l'Ouest, la Castille et l'Aragon au Sud;[4]

[1] H. Géraud, *Paris sous Philippe le Bel d'après . . . le rôle de la taille imposée sur les habitants de Paris en 1292* (Paris, 1837), pp. 95–104, 105.

[2] *Le livre de la taille de Paris, l'an de grâce 1313*, éd. K. Michaelsson (Göteborg, 1951), pp. 54 et 134.

[3] *Comptes de l'Argenterie des rois de France*, éd. Douët d'Arcq (Paris, 1851), p. 5.

[4] Guiral Trapas, marchand de Castelnau-Montratier, répartit avant de mourir en 1283 ses legs pieux entre des établissements religieux sis à Londres, Gloucester, Southampton, Cantorbéry, Salisbury, Stamford, d'une part, à Burgos, Palencia, Tolède et Santander, de l'autre, villes qu'il avait évidemment visitées au cours de ses voyages d'affaires ou avec lesquelles il était en relations; *cf.* E. Albe, 'Guiral Trapas, marchand de Montratier', *Bulletin*

aucune place de commerce importante ne leur est étrangère, puisqu'ils pénètrent même à Paris à la fin du XIII[e] siècle. Sur ces places, comme les hommes d'affaires toscans, ils exercent toutes les activités susceptibles de donner des profits: commerce des vins, des laines, des draps, des épices, change, monnayage des espèces, prêts à des particuliers, à des villes et aux rois, parfois gagés sur des revenus d'impôts dont la ferme leur est concédée, parfois garantis par des immeubles ou des objets mobiliers, armement même de vaisseaux le cas échéant. Certains d'entre eux édifient des fortunes considérables. Et plusieurs de ces heureux commerçants consacrent une part de leurs richesses à la fondation ou au développement de couvents destinés aux Ordres Mendiants, dont ils attendent une aide efficace pour leur salut, ou à la construction d'édifices utiles à l'embellissement et au mieux-être de leur ville, tels l'Hôtel de Ville de Figeac, le pont dit 'des usuriers' à Cahors, commencé en 1251, et les trois ponts de Figeac sur le Célé. Rien, sinon l'ampleur réduite de leurs moyens, ne les distingue des hommes d'affaires siennois et florentins contemporains.

* * *

Et cependant, au moment où Guilhem Servat mourut à Londres à l'apogée de sa fortune, où Guy de Cahors frappe à Paris la monnaie d'or de Philippe V, où Guillaume Bonnes Mains de Figeac entreprend vers Alexandrie à partir de Barcelone et d'Aigues Mortes un voyage commercial, qui, avant de tourner à la catastrophe, manifeste l'esprit d'entreprise des Quercynois,[1] où Bernard de Favas venu de Gourdon crée à Marseille un commerce de draps destiné à être l'un des principaux de la place,[2] où les bourgeois de Cahors résidant à Limoges organisent des représentations du jeu de Saint Martin,[3] le déclin a déjà commencé: partout les Cahorsins cèdent la place aux Florentins, aux Siennois

de la Société des Etudes du département du Lot, 1911, pp. 213–21. D'autre part, Guillaume Bonnes Mains de Figeac prend Barcelone pour base de ses entreprises maritimes; *cf. infra*, p. 62.

[1] L. d'Alauzier, *op. cit.*, pp. 230–31; *cf.* aussi R. Cazelles, 'Lettres closes, lettres "de par le roy" de Philippe de Valois', *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France, années 1956–1957* (Paris, 1958), p. 120.

[2] L. Baratier, *Histoire du commerce de Marseille*, ii (Paris, 1951), p. 85 et note, et p. 875.

[3] En 1290 et 1302, selon L. Petit de Julleville, *Histoire du théâtre en France. Les mystères* (Paris, 1880), i, p. 185, n. 2; ii, pp. 2 et 631.

et aux Lucquois, dont ils étaient les rivaux parfois heureux jusqu'aux environs de 1280. Tout se passe comme si quelques individualités seulement conservaient un rôle important: le Quercy ne lance plus vers les quatre coins de l'Occident des groupes d'hommes entreprenants, avides d'y exercer le commerce et la banque. Ce ne sont plus des Cahorsins, mais des Florentins et des Lucquois qui servent de conseillers financiers, de banquiers et de prêteurs au roi d'Angleterre;[1] des Florentins et des Génois afferment désormais la perception de la grande coutume de Bordeaux et les principaux d'entre eux sont nommés connétables de Bordeaux et sénéchaux d'Aquitaine par le roi d'Angleterre;[2] aux portes mêmes de leur ville, les Cahorsins ont perdu leur puissance. Et à Londres, à Bruges, voire à Paris, le prêt sur gages qui n'était jusque là qu'une de leurs activités parmi beaucoup tend à devenir la principale, sinon parfois l'unique. Lorsque le roi de France, Saint Louis en 1269,[3] Philippe III en 1274, expulsaient du royaume Cahorsins, Lombards et autres étrangers qui prêtaient à usure, il précisait que son ordonnance ne visait pas ceux qui s'adonnaient normalement au commerce, reconnaissant par là-même que c'était le cas de beaucoup d'entre eux.[4] Dès la fin du siècle, la distinction n'est plus faite: le mot de cahorsin comme celui de lombard devient synonyme d'usurier. Et l'étroitesse du milieu commercial de Cahors ressort de la constatation que, tandis que ceux des Florentins, des Siennois et des Lucquois qui, d'aventure, prêtaient sur gages étaient qualifiés de Lombards, il n'existe pas deux mots différents pour distinguer, parmi les hommes d'affaires de la seule région de France qui ait un temps rivalisé avec les Italiens, les commerçants des usuriers: quand les activités du plus grand nombre changent de caractère, le nom de tous prend dans l'opinion publique un sens infâmant. Les Cahorsins ont perdu la qualité et la réputation d'hommes d'affaires à rayon d'action international; Dante, fils de la plus grande de leurs

[1] A Sapori, 'Le compagnie italiane in Inghilterra (sec. XIII–XIV)', *Studi di storia economica (sec. XIII–XIV–XV)*, 3e éd. (Florence, 1956), pp. 1059–70.

[2] Renouard, 'Les hommes d'affaires italiens à Bordeaux au cours du Moyen Age', *Studi in onore di Gino Luzzatto* (Milan, 1950), i, pp. 48–55.

[3] Laurière, *Ordonnances des rois de France. . . .*, i, p. 96.

[4] *Ibid.*, i, p. 299: 'Non inhibemus tamen quin mercatores Lombardi, Caorsini et alii undequaque pro suis negociis et mercaturis legitime exercendis in regno nostro morentur'.

concurrentes victorieuses, le manifeste bientôt, lorsque, mû par des raisons politiques autant que morales, il les précipite eux et leur ville dans le même cercle de l'enfer que les enfants de Sodome.[1]

Les causes de ce déclin n'ont pas encore été mises en lumière. L'insuffisance des archives où n'est conservé aucun livre de comptes, aucun document de la pratique des hommes d'affaires de Cahors, explique cette ignorance. Les Cahorsins ne sont connus que de l'extérieur par les textes administratifs qui réglementent leur activité, par les textes littéraires qui leur sont défavorables et par quelques articles des comptes des rois. Même en Italie, peu de livres de comptes d'hommes d'affaires du milieu du XIII[e] siècle ont été conservés; les Cahorsins ont perdu trop vite leur caractère de grands commerçants pour qu'il en reste des traces dans la documentation.

Le déclin de Cahors qui commence vers 1280 et se prolonge jusqu'aux environs de 1320 semble résulter de circonstances contingentes auxquelles n'a pas permis de faire face une structure insuffisante.

Les difficultés sont devenues chroniques à partir du moment où s'est ranimé le conflit franco-anglais en Aquitaine avec la première guerre de Guyenne, en 1293. Sujets du roi de France, les Cahorsins sont éliminés des offices du roi d'Angleterre, aussi bien en Angleterre qu'en Aquitaine, à moins qu'ils ne se naturalisent anglais, comme Guilhem Servat dont le cas est bien exceptionnel. Même s'ils continuent à exporter leurs vins par Bordeaux, ils deviennent *persone non grate* dans les domaines du roi d'Angleterre, qui n'a qu'avantage, sur le plan financier, à s'adresser à leurs concurrents des villes toscanes. Or l'Angleterre et l'Aquitaine étaient deux des centres essentiels de leur action. Leur disparition d'Angleterre coïncide avec le début de la récession économique qui affecte l'Occident à partir de 1280: aux foires de Champagne qui commencent à décliner, sur la place de Bruges, la concurrence se fait plus âpre et les marchands italiens s'efforcent de maintenir leur activité au détriment d'autrui comme à Londres et à Paris.

Or les Cahorsins ne sont pas en situation de résister et de défendre leurs positions, parce que leur activité n'a ni des bases, ni une organisation aussi puissantes que celles des hommes d'affaires toscans. Les Florentins, les Lucquois s'appuient sur une grande industrie de luxe, celle des draps de laine ou de soie de

[1] Dante, *Divina Commedia, Inf.* XI, v. 49–51.

qualité incomparable et difficiles de ce fait à concurrencer. Cahors n'a pour soutenir une grande économie commerçante que l'exportation de laines et de draps communs, de vins ordinaires malgré leur réputation: bien des pays méridionaux produisent et fabriquent de semblables marchandises; son économie est donc à la merci de la concurrence. Et sa situation n'impose pas suffisamment le passage par ses murs pour que le transit la soutienne quand l'élevage, l'artisanat et la viticulture ne suffisent plus à la maintenir: c'est le drame des villes de l'intérieur sans spécialité. Il n'est pas indifférent de constater que Sienne, qui n'a pas, elle non plus, de maîtrise industrielle, ni de port pour soutenir son essor et qui n'exporte pas les vins de son contado, s'est effondrée brutalement à la suite du krach des Bonsignori en 1298–1299, au moment même où s'affaissait Cahors.

Cahors ne pouvait pas même, en effet, être abattue par un krach. Sa structure économique était trop mesquine pour lui permettre même une chute grandiose. Ses hommes d'affaires ne semblent nullement s'être groupés en puissantes compagnies dont l'essor soutient la cité, mais dont la chute la ruine d'un coup; les mentions de leurs noms rencontrées dans les textes semblent suggérer qu'ils se bornaient à s'associer dans de petites sociétés familiales qui n'avaient rien de comparable aux puissantes compagnies toscanes et qui n'avaient pas les moyens de résister à leur concurrence.

Faute d'une production régionale de grande qualité, faute d'une industrie puissante, faute de la population nombreuse qui aurait pu en résulter, faute d'une structure suffisamment forte de ses sociétés commerciales, Cahors, ville modeste de 5.000 habitants au maximum, n'a pu conserver dans le monde nouveau et dur de la grande récession économique qui commence dès la fin du XIII^e^ siècle le rang international que, seule, parmi les villes de l'intérieur du royaume de France elle avait tenu un siècle durant, par une réussite exceptionnelle.

* * *

Il est curieux de constater qu'au moment où s'éteint l'activité internationale commerciale et bancaire des Cahorsins se sont produites des circonstances générales qui auraient pu la favoriser considérablement. En 1316, un Cahorsin, Jacques Duèze, ancien étudiant des écoles de Montpellier, est élu pape: il prend le nom de

Jean XXII. Comme ses prédécesseurs italiens et gascon, Jean XXII s'entoure de membres de sa famille et peuple le Sacré Collège de Cahorsins et de Quercynois.[1] En particulier, un membre de la famille de Jean qu'Edouard II avait déjà appelé en 1313 à siéger à son Conseil de Gascogne,[2] Gaucelme de Jean, est créé cardinal. Or Jean XXII avait un génie d'administrateur: c'est lui qui, au cours de son long pontificat, a organisé de façon durable les finances apostoliques.[3] Pour transférer au Trésor pontifical à Avignon les sommes dont les bénéficiers ecclésiastiques du monde entier lui étaient redevables, il décida de recourir à des banquiers. Il est bien vraisemblable que, si les Cahorsins avaient encore joué un rôle dans le commerce et la banque internationale comme ils l'avaient fait au troisième quart du XIII^e siècle, c'est eux que Jean XXII aurait chargés d'assurer le mouvement des fonds pontificaux. Si le pape de Cahors en confia le transfert aux plus grandes compagnies commerciales et bancaires de son temps, celles de Florence, Bardi, Peruzzi, Acciaiuoli, Buonaccorsi, entre lesquelles il fait la part égale et dont la clientèle de la Curie contribue à développer l'activité de Famagouste à Londres et de Bruges à Naples,[4] c'est parce qu'il n'y avait plus d'hommes d'affaires de Cahors susceptibles de lui rendre ces mêmes services en 1320–1325. Il est loisible d'imaginer que, si la clientèle pontificale était venue à ceux-ci cinquante ans plus tôt, elle les aurait aidés à s'affirmer et à résister aux difficultés d'une période de récession et à la concurrence des hommes d'affaires italiens.

L'activité commerciale des Cahorsins n'a cependant pas disparu de façon absolue. Ils constituent encore au XIV^e siècle des colonies vivantes à la Rochelle et à Montpellier. Au milieu du XIV^e siècle, l'évêque de Lisbonne, ancien évêque de Saintes, qui a vécu à Montpellier avant de gagner son nouveau diocèse, fait transférer par les Cahorsins de la Rochelle les fonds apostoliques qu'il expédie du Portugal à Avignon.[5] Un commerce subsiste le

[1] L. Albe, 'Autour de Jean XXII. Les Familles du Quercy', *Annales de Saint-Louis-des-Français*, 1903–1906.

[2] *Rôles Gascons d'Edouard II*, éd. Y. Renouard (sous presse), no. 1120.

[3] G. Mollat, *Les papes d'Avignon*, 9^e éd. (Paris, 1949), pp. 504–26.

[4] Y. Renouard, *Les relations des papes d'Avignon et des compagnies commerciales et bancaires de 1316 à 1378* (Paris, 1941).

[5] Y. Renouard, 'Un Français du Sud-Ouest, évêque de Lisbonne au XIV^e siècle: Thibaud de Castillon (1348–1356), sa fortune, ses placements et ses

long de la route Montpellier-Cahors-la Rochelle qui permet ainsi parfois d'effectuer en contrepartie des opérations de change. Cette route terrestre de la Méditerranée à l'Atlantique apparaît donc bien comme le grand axe de la vie économique de Cahors puisqu'elle conserve quelque trafic après le déclin des hommes d'affaires de cette ville. Elle le demeure pendant toute la période moderne jusqu'à la création du réseau ferré qui abandonne la traversée des montagnes,[1] même si elle ne soutenait plus comme jadis la grandeur de Cahors située au milieu de son parcours.

relations avec les hommes d'affaires de son temps', *Bulletin des études portugaises et de l'Institut Français au Portugal*, xiii (1949), pp. 29–51.

[1] M. Delafosse, 'Sur une route de l'étain et du sucre: marchands de Montignac à la Rochelle au XVI^e siècle', *Annales du Midi*, lxvii (1955), pp. 61–65; L. Dermigny, 'De Montpellier à la Rochelle: route du commerce, route de la médecine au XVIII^e siècle', *ibid.*, pp. 31–59.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE EUROPEAN STATES SYSTEM SINCE THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

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READ 14 MAY 1960

AFTER years of intense specialization in historical studies —in the history of ideas, of science, of historiography; in economic history, diplomatic history, administrative history, social history, legal history, world history, which last is fast becoming another specialism—there is perhaps no subject of historical enquiry that would not benefit from an attempt to amalgamate the results of all these disciplines. This is certainly true of international relations. The valuable labours of diplomatic historians have done no more than erect a scaffolding of established facts. In the work of understanding and explaining those facts we have not made much progress since von Ranke and Albert Sorel. Von Ranke's famous essay in interpretation, 'The Great Powers', was written more than 125 years ago, before the rise of specialist studies. For this reason, as well as on account of the preoccupation of his generation with national mission and divine intention in a universal scheme, it necessarily fell back on a mystical conception of the society of states, on a spiritual conception of the role of the individual state—on what must now be regarded as general history of the worst kind. Since von Ranke's day, while diplomatic history has been preoccupied with searching the archives and establishing the facts, no single specialist explanation of the facts of the sort that has become possible—neither the economic determinism of Marx and Lenin nor the concentration of Meinecke and, more recently, of Dehio on changing intellectual attitudes to power—has done justice to so complex a subject; and general historians have either remained content to adopt von Ranke's approach or have adopted it with the slight alteration of emphasis that results if his 'divine direction' is replaced by the balance of power or the struggle for mastery or the search for hegemony—none of which is any more adequate as a first cause. Sorel's great book of sixty years ago, *Europe and*

the French Revolution, is an exception to the last of these sweeping generalizations. But Sorel, like von Ranke, stopped at the first Napoleon. For the years since then, if not for the years before, what we need is a new von Ranke and a new Sorel, a new interpretation of the development of international relations that will be based on a generation of research in many specialist fields.

Before making a beginning in this direction—and here I cannot hope to do more—let me outline the problem in general terms.

A new states system emerged or finally matured in Europe during the eighteenth century. That century witnessed the rise of the actuality and of the conception of a collection of Great Powers in place of an earlier framework of existing fact and inherited thought in which, while more than one state had always existed, it was natural for one Power to be rated above the rest and in which, while they had always been resisted by other states, it was impossible for that Power's pretensions to stop short of the control and protection of Christendom.

This was Charles V's conception of his position, and Philip II's and Louis XIV's. It was also Napoleon I's: he undertook the political and economic integration of Europe in ways which, like his plans for the Pope and his intention of establishing Paris as the archive centre of the continent, strongly suggest the conscious and deliberate aim of restoring the Empire of Charlemagne. Nor need Napoleon's aims surprise us. It was not to be expected that a new structure would emerge without resistance from, and reaction by, that Power which had most recently operated the old and come nearest—nearer than any medieval ruler as well as nearer than earlier modern monarchs—to perfecting it. Other people took the same view of the position occupied by Charles and Philip and Louis—or of the position which would be occupied by some other ruler should they be ousted from it. If anyone doubts this, let him study the various European peace plans—if we may so call them—up to the time of Leibnitz. These all sought, as Dubois and Dante had sought, to improve on the imperfect—not to say chimerical—political unity of the Middle Ages; went on echoing Dante's plea that 'in a multitude of rulers there is evil, therefore let there be one Prince', 'a unique princedom extending over all persons in time'—which is what he had meant by Mon-

archy. But this was not other people's view of Napoleon. He never got so bad a name as Wilhelm II or Hitler were to get. He was able to assume, after Waterloo, that he would be allowed to spend his declining days as a country gentleman, 'in a country house within ten or twelve leagues of London'. Interesting facts which throw some light upon his Europe as well as upon himself. Nevertheless he ran foul of, as he also helped to advance, an unprecedented degree of resistance to the idea of a European super-state. And the reason for this resistance, which was not nationalism in any sense of the word but the slow rise into acceptance in the previous hundred years of a Europe consisting of several Great Powers, is reflected in many things—in the changed character of the even more numerous peace plans of the eighteenth century, from William Penn's and Saint-Pierre's to Kant's and Jeremy Bentham's, when compared with those of the previous century; in the final replacement of the notion of Christendom and of a purely geographical conception of Europe by the modern conception of Europe as the sum of its political parts, which was essentially an eighteenth-century development; in the first appearance of the modern attitude to international relations and to international law, which phrase was first used by Bentham in place of the older law of nations; in the means by which Napoleon was defeated and the nature of the Congress that was established after his defeat. It was not the least interesting feature of the Congress of Vienna that the Powers who had defeated Napoleon then formally assumed the status of Great Powers for the first time, and granted it to France.

Those Powers, it has often been observed, were the Powers who fought the first World War—with the marginal addition of Italy after 1861. With the less marginal deletion of Austria the same Powers fought the second. But changes and complications of a more momentous kind had also, clearly, entered by then. As to when those complications arose and as to what they were there is much controversy, and much premature speculation. Nor is this to be wondered at. There cannot be any understanding of, or agreement about, these things until there is some understanding of, and agreement about, the intervening 100 or 125 years. If we need this understanding for its own sake, we need it, too, for the light which it alone can throw upon international relations in our own generation.

When we turn, however, to those intervening years, we find there is no general agreement on the obvious questions that demand an answer; or else it is agreement on generalities that need to be discarded. Did they, from the point of view of international relations, form a single, consistent whole—or did they witness shifts as decisive as those which the eighteenth century experienced or as those which, whatever their origin and character, dominated the history of the first half of the twentieth century? Whether they formed essentially one phase in modern international relations or more than one, through what stages did international relations then evolve, for what reasons, under what pressures, with what decisive changes or mild alterations of assumption, aim and motive? What was the Congress system, to take concrete examples? How and why did it yield to the Concert of Europe, and what was that? When and why did the Concert die if it had ever existed? In what ways and for what reasons did the frame and texture of international relations differ after 1871 from what they had been earlier or from what they became after the 1890's?

Of all these questions, it is fair to say, only one presents no difficulty in the present state of enquiry. Diplomatic historians agree, as I have already assumed, that these years may be divided into stages in the 1820's, when the Congress went on the rocks; at 1854, which saw the end of forty years of peace; at 1871, after seventeen years in which there were five wars involving one or more of the major Powers; and in the 1890's, when international relations underwent a great sea-change despite the fact that the peace which had been preserved since 1871 was outwardly preserved till 1914, making those forty-three years the longest stretch of unbroken peace between Great Powers in modern times. None disputes that the unsettlement which began in the 1890's continued to the end of the second World War, making the years to 1945 the longest stretch of unrelieved international disorder in modern times. There is no point at this stage in quarrelling with these divisions, which represent the scaffolding of established diplomatic facts to which I have referred. It is when we face the other questions—ask why the transition took place from one sub-period to the next, try to define the essential framework and character of each—that we meet the pressing problems.

The Congress of Vienna, at the outset of the period, provides

a good example of the rethinking that needs to be done. Many books have been written to show that the motives of the makers of the Congress were dominated by the search for a balance of power and many others to show that they were dominated, rather, by something else—legitimism or common defence against internal revolution or pure self-interest. There is, indeed, much evidence to substantiate either view. But the conflict of evidence is dispelled when the issue is restated.

Take the balance of power. Although historians do not always stop to define it when they refer to it, this already had two meanings in 1815. In early modern times it meant—I speak of the thing and not of the phrase—exactly what we should expect it to mean in circumstances in which the political trends had run towards the hegemony of a single Power: the wish to avoid that hegemony. In the struggle against Napoleon it reacquired this meaning. During the eighteenth century, however, it had come to be equivalent with something else: expediency and egotism in a collectivity of roughly equal and intensely acquisitive states which were bound and regulated by nothing but expediency and egotism. The key to the Congress system is that the governments who made it, who were all reeling under the impact of Napoleon, were obsessed by the need for a balance in the first sense but revolted by the thought of returning to a balance in the second sense. The Congress was essentially the first attempt in history—as its almost exact repetition in the shape of the United Nations' Organization has so far been the last—consciously to find an alternative both to the old aim of domination by one Power, of which the latest practitioner had just been low, and to the balance of power as it had operated in the eighteenth century, from which all felt it imperative to escape. If, as Sorel wrote, a coalition of states founded on public law for the defence of that law would have been an historical paradox in the eighteenth century, unattainable if not unthinkable, this is precisely what the Congress was and what all statesmen agreed to be the essential solution to both these dangers. The Holy Alliance was not the brain-child of an eccentric Tsar but only the most extreme of several versions of the international system demanded by this consensus of opinion, which was shared by those who criticized the Holy Alliance as 'sublime mysticism and nonsense'. Legitimism and the defence of the social order and the determination to stamp out dissidence

were parts of that consensus: the states were reeling under the impact of the French Revolution as well as of Napoleon. But the general religious and moral revival included a specific reaction against international politics of force and materialism, as practised in the eighteenth century, that was as intense as the reaction against alliances and power politics which followed the outbreak of the first World War. And it was under this influence that, as well as seeking equilibrium against a recrudescence of French aggression, the Great Powers, in their anxiety to avoid a return to reliance upon a balance among themselves, came in the Congress system as close to adopting the confederal ideas of the eighteenth-century peace plans as was consistent with the existence—and the recent great growth—of Great Powers.

It is not inconsistent with this that in separate issues they also pursued their separate interests and rivalries. In the very existence of several states we have a structure of power in which, it may be taken as a truism, each Power pursues its individual interests at all times. The problem for the historian of international relations is not to show that they do this. It is to show how they do it at different times and why they do it in different ways—and how and why interests themselves change. The impressive thing about 1815 and the immediately following years in this respect is not that the Powers were concerned with their individual interests but the extent to which they were prepared to waive or moderate those interests in the pursuit of the solution we have discussed.

It was because of the primacy of separate national interests, on the other hand, that the Congress experiment was necessarily shortlived. As many as four or five Powers cannot for very long co-operate as closely on all issues as the Congress system required —as the history of U.N.O. in the past fifteen years or the evolution of the British Commonwealth, no less than the collapse of the Congress, is sufficient to demonstrate. But when the Congress system collapsed in the 1820's the notion of a coalition of states founded on public law for the defence of that law was not abandoned. What happened was a twofold process. When the Congress machinery proved unworkable, as the Security Council of U.N.O. has since proved unworkable, a looser association of the Great Powers, an attenuated Congress system, continued in existence. The public law itself became, on the one hand, restricted to what the looser association could agree on, and therefore to

strictly international matters, but was, on the other hand, enriched and reinforced in its restricted field by the passage of time and the growth of precedent—became, in a word, professionalized. These are the two central features of the Concert of Europe.

Now it is easy to see why the Congress system could not last, and easy to understand these features of the Concert which succeeded it. But why were the restraints of the Concert themselves accepted? One answer is that the individual interest of every Power in accepting them was greater than the individual interest of any Power in escaping them. But why was this so? At this point many considerations demand recognition. All the Great Powers were monarchies. More important—for monarchies *can* fight each other, as monarchies and republics *can* collaborate—they were all controlled by governments that were ranged in different degrees against dissidence in their own societies. More important still—for internal unrest has been an incitement to foreign adventure as often as it has been a deterrent against it—were two other factors. The continental Great Powers were of roughly equal strength in a period of comparatively static economic conditions. Great Britain, the Great Power which now overtopped all the rest in material power, occupying from this point of view the position earlier enjoyed by Spain or Austria or France, was, unlike her predecessors, outside the continent and not in it; and, since she was in the European system if not in the continent, was thus concerned to keep Europe divided and not to unite it. Even these considerations, however, are not enough. In the eighteenth century a similar continental near-equality had contributed to the immense acquisitiveness of the age; and Great Britain had been concerned to keep Europe divided by war rather than divided in peace. If no Power now sought the mastery of Europe; if all accepted instead a common responsibility for maintaining the territorial *status quo* of the treaties of 1815 and for solving the international problems of Europe; if, when the *status quo* had to be changed or a problem had to be solved, they proceeded on the principles that treaties should not be set aside by unilateral action and that gains should not be made without common consent—and these were the essential restraints of the Concert of Europe—this was in the last resort because the aim of mastery was deliberately abandoned, these restraints deliberately accepted, within a framework of thought

and experience which limited ambitions to the effort to make London or Vienna, St. Petersburg or Paris, the diplomatic centre of the Concert.

This is reflected in the peace propaganda of the period. Between the 1820's and the 1860's no peace plans were published which advocated, as did those of the eighteenth century, the establishment of a federal or confederal organization and the limitation of state sovereignty: state sovereignty was not the problem, federalism was not a need and the only question was why states which did collaborate could not abandon armaments and renounce war. It is borne out by the meaning now attached to, and the respectability now acquired by, the notion of the balance of power. Used only in the sense of being the safeguard against any attempt at hegemony by one Power, it was also used, by Palmerston, for example, but not only by British statesmen, with a certitude that it was interchangeable with the pursuit of 'European objects' and the maintenance of European peace: and with a certitude also that all Powers accepted these equivalents. But the point emerges even more clearly, perhaps, from a study of the disordered years from 1854 to 1871 than it does from the earlier years that are normally associated with the Concert.

The Crimean war which began this period of disorder arose from the clash of British and French with Russian strategic interests. It was also occasioned by the determination of Great Britain and France, even if in pursuit of their interests, to end the days in which the control of the Straits and the future of the Ottoman Empire had been regarded as purely Russian concerns—by their effort to extend the European system and its principles to Turkey, whose integrity was declared to be part of the public law of Europe in 1856. The wars which followed in quick succession—the Austro-French-Italian war of 1859, the Danish war of 1864, the Austro-Prussian of 1866, the Franco-Prussian of 1870—arose because years of slow and slight change in the relative distribution of power had made the territorial arrangements and political assumptions of 1815 unrepresentative of the real distribution of power in the German and the Italian areas. In the course of them not only was the territorical *status quo* forcibly modified; the Concert was unable to operate and the principles on which the Concert was based were ignored. Yet the significant thing about these wars, for all that is said about the

explosive force of nationalism, is that the changes to the *status quo* were deliberately restricted to what was necessary to bring it into line with the real distribution of strength. And if we ask why that was so? The conception of Europe as a collectivity of Powers remained as strong as ever. The principles underlying the Concert were suspended; but they had never been interpreted as applying in time of war—which equally with respect for them in time of peace, and not illogically, was part of the public law —and they still governed the objects of the struggles while they were in suspense.

They also survived the struggles. This fact is as important as any other for an understanding of the period from 1871 to the 1890's. We must not think of the convulsions of the earlier years as foreshadowing things to come, as beginning a new age and deciding its character. If this were a necessary characteristic of convulsions, there never would have been any periods of international peace. We must recognize that until the end of the 1890's the new territorial *status quo* was as widely accepted and as completely unchallenged as the pre-1854 situation it had replaced. We should be impressed not by the fact that the Concert of Europe was now eclipsed but by the tenacity that was still displayed by the notions and principles underlying it. Between 1871 and the Congress of Berlin in 1878 the Concert and its principles were not only revived after years of disuse; in reaction to the dangers and disturbances of the recent wars there were efforts to improve on the position they had previously achieved. In the years immediately following the Congress of Berlin the Concert died in the form of international conferences to deal with political problems. The Berlin Conference of 1884, which laid down the rules for the effective occupation of uncivilized territory, was the last on a political subject for more than twenty years. The eclipse of the Concert, following the earlier collapse of the Congress, was accompanied by the return of the Great Powers, for the first time since the *Ancien Régime*, to reliance on the operation of a balance of power as between themselves and on means which necessarily go with such reliance—on alliances and armaments preparedness. But the motives behind their balance of power, their alliances and their armaments readiness still differed from what they had been in the eighteenth century; and they did so because the principles which underlay the Concert and the

restraints which had been developed by the Concert were still subscribed to, as completely as was the *status quo*.

This is all the more impressive when we understand the terrible and inexorable pressures to which the system was beginning to be subjected. The Concert, as opposed to its principles, was eclipsed for several reasons. Men like Gladstone, representing the revival of the vast force of emotion in international politics, broke it by attempting to place upon it, in the shape of the internal administration of Egypt and the reform or dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, burdens it was not designed to bear—by attempting, in fact, to convert it back to a Congress system. Nor was it only by way of resistance to Gladstone's ideas that men like Bismarck and Salisbury worked in a situation in which the Concert as a system of inter-state conferences gave way in political questions to a universal determination that each Power must stand on its own feet. If it was not only by Bismarck and not only over the Eastern Question that efforts to reach international political settlements were judged not worth the bones of a grenadier—and this at a time which saw the first huge proliferation of international legislation and commissions on administrative matters like public health that were of common concern to Europe—this was because political and social developments were giving rise to a new conception of the state in accordance with which each government was ranged politically with its own society, not with other governments against it, and because technical developments were causing an enormous increase in the power of the state and a rapid extension of the functions of the state, with its increasing bureaucracy. It was perhaps equally important that the political problems which arose lay increasingly outside Europe, in areas where the conditions did not exist for the application of the Concert method or of the public law of Europe on which it had been based.

It took more than even these pressures to destroy adherence to the public law itself. Three developments, preparing since the 1870's and culminating after the 1890's, are central to an understanding of this process. There was the rise of the modern state which, as an efficient, comprehensive and integrated wielder of power, existed hardly anywhere before 1890, but which, wherever it did then begin to develop, developed with formidable rapidity. Secondly, for all the earlier scientific revolutions, the increase in

technical knowledge, in the sources of power, before 1890 was a driblet compared with the stupendous growth that began to happen from that date, which has constituted, perhaps, the greatest revolution the world has ever experienced. These we have already noticed as exerting some influence before 1890. But their full effect was not felt until after this date, when they were joined by a third development, even more central to an understanding of the period after the 1890's. This was the fact that, because of the different circumstances and the different previous histories of the different parts of the world, the modern state and the technological revolution did not emerge throughout the world, or even throughout Europe, but only in some countries; and did not emerge, where they did emerge, at the same time and speed. Japan rushed into the twentieth century while China and the East in general remained in the Middle Ages. The United States, the other extra-European Power to make its appearance, in many respects surpassed old Europe in rate of development. Within Europe Germany rushed into the twentieth century while Russia continued to wallow in the fourteenth, Austria-Hungary to exist in the eighteenth and France to struggle in the nineteenth century. The consequences of the first two developments are obvious enough. The bases and the criteria of power were altered, from being political stability, political maturity, geographical advantage, to being industrial, scientific and organizing experience and ability. The possibilities of making power effective were vastly enlarged for those who had this experience and ability. The maintenance of a purely territorial *status quo* became irrelevant. The main consequence of the fact that different parts of Europe and the world were affected disproportionately by these changes is equally obvious though less widely appreciated. This created after the 1890's, at a time when the world was in any case shrinking, as we say, on account of technical developments, a greater inequality in the distribution of effective power, a greater political disequilibrium, than the world had ever previously known in modern times. If the territorial *status quo* became irrelevant the maintenance of any relevant balance was impossible.

All the main developments in international relations—and not only in international relations—since the 1890's are directly attributable to this situation. Late nineteenth-century imperialism differed from all earlier imperialism only to the extent that the

discrepancy between the efficient and the undeveloped parts of the world was becoming more acute than ever at a time when the possibility of exploitation was being extended more rapidly than it had ever been extended. This same discrepancy and this same extension underlay the policies of Hitler and the Japanese between the World Wars and the excesses of internal tyranny in Russia and Germany in that period—just as they explain the special appeal of Marxism to backward countries, the dynamism of the present-day revolution in China and the special character of contemporary nationalism in India, the Middle East and Africa. All these things have arisen from the temptation to make use of the special opportunities thrown up by the acute disequilibrium, or from the fear that these opportunities would not last, or from the determination to bring the greater opportunities of others to an end by desperate steps to achieve additional power as rapidly as modern means allow. And even before these twentieth-century developments took place, in the years between the 1890's and 1914, years in comparison with which the period from 1815 to the 1890's forms a single whole and a static age, these same pressures were having their effects in Europe as well as producing imperialism beyond Europe. It was then and under their influence that the principles by which European international behaviour had been restrained were finally set aside and that one of the Great Powers, after an interval of a century, in circumstances in which mastery was necessarily something different from what it had been in the days of Napoleon and of Louis XIV, again sought the mastery of the continent.

LONDON AND EDWARD I

The Alexander Prize Essay

By Gwyn A. Williams, M.A., Ph.D.

READ 11 JUNE 1960

EARLY in the summer of 1285 Edward I announced that he was sending John de Kirkby and a special commission of judges to the Tower to examine the state of public order in London. On 10 June, nineteen days before their coming, he issued letters patent: the area around St Paul's, he asserted, had become the haunt of thieves and vagabonds, and he empowered the Cathedral to enclose and incorporate it in the churchyard. The 'area around St Paul's' was nothing less than the site of the folk-moot and the muster. The moot was the primal city assembly, the muster the characteristic expression of communal patriotism. By this time, it is true, neither was much more than an institutional fossil, but both were integral and basic components of civic tradition. The sites were the city's freehold and there had been no preliminary inquest of any kind. As late as the *Iter* of 1321, when Hamo de Chigwell tried to reverse the decision, the affront still rankled.[1]

Among the aldermen Stephen Eswy took the lead. Nephew to the chronicler Arnold fitz Thedmar and a friend of John de Gisors, the powerful vintner and king's familiar who had led the royalist faction in the city during the Barons' Wars, Eswy, with his manors in Kent and his impeccable pedigree, was a fit spokesman for the handful of patrician families who had governed London since the twelfth century. On 30 June, at his prompting, the mayor, Gregory de Rokesle, resigned the mayoralty and presented himself before Kirkby as an ordinary citizen, in protest and rebuke. Royal reaction was swift. Eswy was banished to Windsor, eighty Londoners were detained at Westminster and a few imprisoned. The city was taken into the king's hands and Sir Ralph

[1] For these events, see St Paul's D[ean] and C[hapter] Lib[rary], A. 70/1756; *Liber Custumarum* (*Munimenta Gildhallae Londoniensis*, ed. H. T. Riley, ii, R[olls] S[eries], 1862), pp. 338–44; *Ann[ales] Lond[onienses]* (*Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II*, ed. W. Stubbs, i, R.S. 1882), pp. 94–95.

de Sandwich moved into Cornhill to occupy the confiscated houses of Ralph Crepyn, the Common Clerk who had recently been implicated in a grisly feud-killing. On 1 July Sir Ralph was appointed royal warden of the city and the king's officers took control.[1]

This action ended an epoch in London history, for it finally displaced from power the tightly-knit cluster of aldermanic dynasties which comprised the city's first autonomous patriciate.[2] Three-quarters of the ninety-five aldermen and sheriffs known to have held office between the establishment of the commune in 1191 and the outbreak of the popular Montfortian revolt in 1263 came from a small interlocking group of sixteen families. Dynasties established in the twelfth century or even earlier formed the nucleus. No fewer than ten aldermen, for example, were supplied by the fitz Ailwin family, which stemmed from a thegn of the Confessor and had given London its first mayor. Bukerels, planted after the Conquest, provided aldermen in every single generation from about 1100 to the end of the thirteenth century. Blunds and Viels were equally persistent, Bats, Basings and fitz Alulfs only slightly less venerable. It was a patriciate rooted in the dynastic patrimony; some lived as rentiers and all were large-scale landowners within and without the walls. Most were wholesale

[1] *Ann. Lond.*, *loc. cit.*; *Liber Custumarum*, p. 240; *C*[*alendar of*] *P*[*atent*] *R*[*olls*], *1281–92*, pp. 182, 357. For Eswy, see, for example, St Paul's D. and C. Lib., A. 25A/1731; W[estminster] A[bbey] M[uniments] 9, 42, 52, 80; P.R.O. Assize Rolls no. 543, m. 10, and no. 538, m. 7; *Letter-Bk. A* (*Calendar of Letter-Books . . . of the City of London, A–L*, ed. R. R. Sharpe, London, 1899–1912), pp. 2, 209; *Letter-Bk. C* (*ibid.*), p. 24; *C*[*alendar of*] *C*[*lose*] *R*[*olls*], *1288–96*, p. 522; *C.P.R.*, *1258–66*, p. 465; *Cal*[*endar*] *of Wills* [*. . . enrolled in the Court of Husting, London, 1258–1358*], ed. R. R. Sharpe (London, 1889), i, pp. 22, 122, 435; A. B. Beaven, *The Aldermen of the City of London* (London, 1909–13), i, p. 375.

[2] The whole of this paragraph is based on biographical data collected from a great variety of sources. Aldermen may be identified from A. B. Beaven, *op. cit.*, and the basic sources of information were the Hust[ing] Rolls, Hust. Rolls (Common Pleas), Hust. Rolls (Land) and Recog[nisance] Rolls from the City of London Records Office, together with the *Calendar of Letter-Books* and *Cal. of Wills*; the records of St Paul's D. and C. Lib.; W.A.M.; P.R.O., Exchequer records, notably K. R. Accounts Various and K.R. Customs Accounts, the Chancery Rolls (Charter, Close, Liberate and Patent Rolls) and their printed *Calendars*. Useful for the early history of families is W. Page, *London, its Origin and Early Development* (London, 1929). For an overall survey, see below, *Appendix*.

merchants in the long-established Flemish and Gascon connexions, drawn from the élite crafts, drapers, pepperers, mercers, goldsmiths and above all vintners, for in the wine trade royal patronage conferred a precocious brilliance. Men like Gisors, Adam de Basing and Philip le Tailor could make £200 to £300 a year from their sales to the Household. Over a third of their fellows entered royal service and there was an inner privileged circle of general royal 'familiars'. Successful newcomers were few and swiftly assimilated to the dynastic core. Generally they were immigrants, English or alien, and the path to the council for the prospering middle-class Londoner became increasingly hard. Life ebbed away from folkmoot and assembly to the closed and select aldermanic committees at Guildhall as the sketchy civic constitution became the instrument of an oligarchy as informal and ill-defined as it was effective.

The revolt which overthrew this régime in 1263 was primarily the product of growth.[1] The city population probably doubled in the course of the century and as it climbed towards the 40,000 level of 1300, citizenship rapidly lost its hereditary, landed and élite character. The increasing complexity of commerce, in particular the development of the Baltic and Spanish connexions, bred new groups of merchants in the old lines and created important mercantile and entrepreneurial interests in the industrial and victualling trades. Beneath the patrician mysteries there was a stirring of ambition in the shadowy undergrowth of *officia*, the controlled and circumscribed trade organizations, as fishmongers, corders, skinners, cordwainers, girdlers and their lesser imitators strove to establish the craft as an instrument of control in the teeth of aldermanic hostility. Political and social friction generated discontent which was given form and purpose by the national crisis of mid-century, until in 1263 the dissidents, under arms and in the name of Montfort, erected their revolutionary commune. Its

[1] These events may be reconstructed from the basic narrative by Arnold fitz Thedmar in *De Ant*[*iquis*] *Leg*[*ibus*] *Lib*[*er*], ed. T. Stapleton (Camden Soc., 1846), supplemented by biographical data drawn from the sources given above. On population, see the argument and statistics in E. Ekwall, *Studies on the Population of Medieval London* (Stockholm, 1956) and *id.*, *Two Early London Subsidy Rolls* (Lund, 1951); M. Weinbaum, *London unter Eduard I und II* (Stuttgart, 1933); S. L. Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London* (Chicago, 1948); J. C. Russell, *British Medieval Population* (Albuquerque, 1948).

overthrow after Evesham was followed by a royal repression which savaged patricians even worse than *populares*, and the great quarrel dissolved into a multiplicity of feuds. When the aldermanic régime was finally restored, Walter Hervey, the tough royal bailiff who was reluctant to surrender his authority, found it easy to mobilize massive support at the disputed mayoral election of 1272 and to organize a craft and popular party whose clamour in this, the last and the most successful of the great street demonstrations, disturbed the last hours of Henry III.

By October 1273, however, Hervey's power was on the wane, and the aldermen turned anxiously to Henry le Waleys, another strong-willed outsider, and installed him as mayor. Waleys, certainly an immigrant and possibly a Welshman from the Chepstow district, had prospered in the wine trade, averaging nearly £250 a year in sales to the Household between 1259 and 1263. An attempt to make him bailiff in 1265 had foundered on his ambiguous record during the wars, but in 1269, after massive property purchases and a marriage into the Basings, he became alderman of Cordwainer.[1] He liquidated the popular movement with a swift and authoritarian brusqueness, and in May 1274, to greet Edward on his arrival in England, swept away the victuallers' stalls which cluttered Cheap, under civic licence, precipitating with characteristic abruptness the last of the Hervey crises. Working in close rapport with Edward and the Council, securing royal backing for every step he took, he broke the crafts and drove Hervey from public life.[2]

This was Edward's first contact as king with the turbulent politics of London. His immediate response was to make the incisive Waleys his man. The Londoner was promptly transferred to Bordeaux, where he presided over the warring clans as royal mayor, and for the rest of his days he lived as a king's officer, travelling on Edward's intimate business from Berwick to Bayonne, serving as his personal liaison officer with the merchants,

[1] On his wine sales, see Liberate Rolls no. 37, mm. 7, 11, 13, 14, and no. 47, m. 10; Chancery Miscellanea 3/7/36; *C*[*alendar of*] *L*[*iberate*] *R*[*olls*], *1251–60* (in P.R.O. Literary Search Room, printed but not published) and *C.P.R. 1258–81*, *passim*; on his lands and career, see P.R.O., Ancient Deeds E. 220; Hust. Rolls nos. 4 and 5, *passim*; *Letter-Bk. A*, p. 163; *C.P.R., 1266–72*, pp. 8, 112, 208; A. B. Beaven, *op. cit.*, p. 375.

[2] *De Ant. Leg. Lib.*, pp. 159–70; Hust. Roll (Land) 1, m. 4; Hust. Roll (Common Pleas) 2, mm. 6, 8.

witnessing deeds among the high officials of the Exchequer, whom his son, Augustine de Uxbridge, was shortly to join. The Burnels were his friends, the royal family his patrons. With property scattered over the face of England and clustered thickly in Westminster and fifteen London parishes, Waleys moved easily among the Court retinue he entertained in his mansions. In March 1299 the Great Council summoned after Edward's return from Scotland actually assembled in the Londoner's hall in Stepney.[1]

Edward soon had need of such a man on his home ground. After Waleys's departure the aldermen inaugurated the sedate seven-year mayoralty of Gregory de Rokesle. The Rokesles were a family of Kentish franklins whose members had from the sixties peopled the political society of London. Gregory, alderman of Dowgate for twenty-six years from 1265, was by far the most successful. One of the great men of the wine trade and a general merchant with interests ranging from Bruges to Bordeaux and Dublin, he served as royal butler and Master of Exchange, working closely with the king's Italians and Gascons, lending money, planning towns, collecting taxes. Thirty-two judicial commissions were issued to him, and, endowed with property on a massive scale, including eight manors in Kent and Sussex, he was one of the few Londoners to enjoy Edward's bounty. In 1291 the chronicler Andrew Horn saw no ambiguity in placing his obituary next to that of the queen mother. He was, perhaps, the last Londoner to play the grand patrician in the peculiar thirteenth-century style.[2]

His administration was no less traditional. Rokesle was content to administer in the accepted empirical and practical spirit, the spirit which informed the appointment of a staff of official

[1] On his career, see *C.P.R.* and *C.C.R.* for the reign of Edward I, *passim*; see also *Letter-Bks. A*, *B*, and Hust. Rolls 4–23, *passim*; C. Bémont, 'Les institutions municipales de Bordeaux au moyen âge', *Revue Historique*, cxxiii (1916), 50; *Victoria County History*, *Middlesex* (1911), ii, p. 22; and for his son, see T. F. Tout, *The Place of the Reign of Edward II . . .* , 2nd edn. rev. by H. Johnstone (Manchester Univ. Press, 1936), p. 325.

[2] It is virtually impossible to turn a page of the civic records of this period without coming across Rokesle or some kinsman. On his career, see *C.P.R.* and *C.C.R.* for the reign of Edward I, *passim*; see also *Cal. of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, ii, pp. 504–505, no. 824; *Cal. of Wills*, i, pp. 98–99; Hust. Rolls 9–16; *Ann. Lond.*, p. 99.

scavengers at this time. The rebels of 1263 were re-admitted to society and citizenship was re-defined. By 1278 the multifarious usages of the city had been codified in his 'assizes' which became the basis of all further legislation. From this mayoralty come the first indications of that marked improvement in civic administrative technique characteristic of the reign. Records were better kept, the class of professional clerks and legists began to establish its virtual monopoly of administrative jobs, to acquire a distinctive personality. With the royal courts as their stimulus and model, the city tribunals developed greater precision and sophistication, and in 1280 a gild of lawyers was established by mayoral decree.[1] The first recognizable Common Clerk appeared in 1278, in the person of Ralph Crepyn, a clerk and money-lender from the cadet branch of an aldermanic family, who in the manner of the professionals built himself into a city magnate and in 1280 became the first specialized civic administrator to reach the aldermanic council.[2]

Crepyn, however, was better known for a less reputable reason. Possibly in consequence of a loan, he was locked in vendetta with Laurence Duket. Duket was a goldsmith of good family, his supporters drawn from a respectable milieu; Crepyn's men were clerks and disgruntled cordwainers from the old rebel family of Laufare; both sides employed professional thugs from the large and mobile underworld. Their clashes disturbed the peace, and Crepyn, it seems, could rely on fellow clerks in the administration.[3] Indeed, in another case in 1279, a woman plaintiff claimed he had used the clerkship to shield himself from the law for ten years. In the envenomed post-Evesham atmosphere feuds had multiplied and it is distinctly possible that London was suffering from something akin to livery and maintenance.

[1] On his mayoralty, see *Letter-Bk. A*, pp. 183–84, 211–12, 217–19; *Liber Custumarum*, pp. 99–100, 282–83; *Ann. Lond.*, pp. 85–86; Hust. Rolls (Common Pleas) no.1, m. 1, no. 2, mm. 1d, 4; Hust. Roll (Land)1, mm. 1, 7; Recog. Roll 1 (64, 75, 136, 219); Misc. Roll BB, mm. 4, 5 (City of London Records Office); St Paul's D. and C. Lib., A. 12/1128.

[2] *C.C.R., 1272–79*, p. 557; *C.C.R., 1279–88*, pp. 361, 528; *C.P.R., 1272–1281*, pp. 285, 339, 340; *Letter-Bk. B*, pp. 97, 178; *Letter-Bk. C*, p. 172; *Cal. [of] E[arly] M[ayors] C[ourt] Rolls [... of the City of London, 1298–1307]*, ed. A. H. Thomas (London, 1924), p. 105.

[3] *Ann. Lond.*, pp. 92–93; *Letter-Bk. A*, p. 156; *Letter-Bk. B*, pp. 1, 2, 3; Hust. Rolls 5 (2, 3), 14 (9).

Certainly in the last years of Rokesle's mayoralty there were signs of mounting dissatisfaction. The hundred-juries were still loud for Hervey; in 1280 there was a special watch against buckler-play. Royal denunciation of lax administration grew more frequent and between 1277 and 1281, in an unprecedented volume of complaint, no fewer than ten citizen appeals to Westminster, one levelled against a kinsman of the mayor himself, accused the Husting of sheltering delinquent aldermen.[1]

'Nulla inquisicio recte facta est in Civitate Londoniarum'—the protest of the justices in 1244 was the perennial complaint of monarchy, voiced by Edward in writ after writ in the eighties. Criminals were escaping, the assizes were not properly kept, inquests were faulty, city law full of quirks and oddities. The sheriffs, his officers, feared legal reprisal, an abomination which could exist only within the suspect sanctuary of the franchise. It is difficult to assess the truth of these charges. The earliest surviving presentments for breaches of the peace date from the period of indirect royal rule itself, when over a few weeks in 1281 sixty-nine men were accused of crimes ranging from murder to 'setting up games'. Twenty-six were acquitted, eight found to be professional 'roarers', the rest guilty in varying degrees.[2] The novelty lay, probably, not in the situation, but in the king's reaction to it. For it echoed a deeper dissonance. Edward, dependent on his Italian creditors and anxious to tap the wealth of England, found the franchise of a jealous citizenry a major obstacle to the free flow of trade. Patrician commercial practice was out of phase with the new rhythms of royal policy. To the author of the great statutes London's juridical peculiarity was a flaw in the pattern of the new community which he and his officers were consciously shaping.[3]

He was no stranger to urban contentiousness. In Bordeaux he permitted free elections for only ten years, in Bayonne he confined the mayoralty to three loyal families. Feuds had undone these communes as they ruined Dax, Libourne and La Réole. In

[1] *C.P.R., 1272–81*, pp. 99, 239, 285, 339–40, 406, 407, 409, 411, 414, 456, 460, 472, 474; *Letter-Bk. C*, pp. 15–17; *Liber Custumarum*, pp. 282–83.

[2] Misc. Roll AA, p. 12 (City of London Records Office); *Letter-Bk. B*, pp. 1–12.

[3] See, for example, on his general attitude, F. M. Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1953), and T. F. T. Plucknett, *Legislation of Edward I* (Oxford, 1949).

England, Lincoln lost its liberty in 1290, after petitions against misgovernment from lesser citizens, and the new charter of Hull in 1299 expressly ordered government by royal agents. The introduction of a higher borough rate in taxation and the reorganization of the police system in the Statute of Winchester reduced the number of free boroughs, while in those that remained Edward tried to re-assert royal control over those functions, such as the administration of the food assizes, which he considered the peculiar preserve of monarchy. Acutely aware of the wealth and talent of the towns, the king was determined that they be applied to the national welfare as he saw it. In practice this implied the imposition of as much royal control as townsmen would stomach, generally in the form of indirect rule by a nominated mayor or one prepared to take orders, with destruction of the franchise as a final sanction.[1]

In London the process was eased by an abrupt change in the character of aldermanic service in the royal administration. From 1272 gone were the happy days of six oaks from this forest and six bucks from that. Only Waleys and Rokesle enjoyed patronage comparable to that which had nourished a score of their predecessors under Henry III. Royal generosity dried up and the number of mercantile aldermen who entered the king's service, now in positions painfully subordinate to those of the Italians and Gascons, fell by a tenth. On the other hand, there was a sharp increase in the number of specialized royal officers who acquired aldermanries, men like Joce l'Akatur, who married into the rebel Heyruns, a Wardrobe buyer who entered the council in the last years of his life, or Bartholomew de Castell, the Household official and financier who ended his days as a canon of Wells. Castell was a clerk to Burnel himself and drew Edward's livery long before he devoted his talents to civic administration.[2]

The London courts were compelled continuously to adjust themselves to the rapidly maturing legal order of the nation, and

[1] C. Petit-Dutaillis, *Les Communes Françaises* (Paris, 1947), book ii, chapter ii, especially pp. 159–67; J. W. F. Hill, *Medieval Lincoln* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1948), pp. 213–16, 239–40; J. Tait, *The Medieval English Borough* (Manchester Univ. Press, 1936), pp. 201–13.

[2] See, for example, K.R. Accounts Various (Alien Merchants) 126/27, m. 3; Liberate Rolls no. 48, m. 12, and 51, m. 6; Hust. Rolls 5–16, *passim*; *Close Rolls, 1231–68*, and *C.C.R., 1272–88*, *passim*; Chancery Miscellanea 3/21/18.

without law-schools of its own the city drew so heavily on those outside the walls that the patriciate tended increasingly to crystallize around a Westminster–Guildhall axis. Public attitude responded; many were weary of strife. When the irascible councillor Peter de Berneval prayed aloud in the mayor's court in 1303 for a return of the royal warden 'because business was dealt with speedily under him', he no doubt voiced an opinion prevalent in the eighties when a 'king's party', at least in the passive sense, was a reality in the city.[1] This confluence of royal and popular discontents submerged the hesitant traditionalism of Rokesle, and in 1281 Henry le Waleys returned to the mayoralty.

The most ardent disciplinarian could not have foreseen the result. Waleys launched a drive for order and efficiency such as London had never experienced in peace-time. A great series of peace ordinances was promulgated and an attempt was made to open a dossier on everyone living in the city. Inns, hostels and their inmates were enrolled, the trades were to keep lists, all over twelve were to be registered. Sweeping police action followed, experiments with the watch, a drive against curfew-breakers. There was a massive enquiry into the trades, wholesale revision of craft ordinances. Cheap was cleared again. The placid confines of Guildhall were enlivened by edicts remodelling juries, forbidding the leasing of Middlesex, calling for the utmost despatch in executive action. Waleys launched a bold and imaginative experiment in civic estate-building, creating a new victuals market at the Stocks and a new housing project near St Paul's to finance the maintenance of the Bridge. And all legislation was enforced by a virtually continuous process of inquest and presentment.[2]

No mayor could act in this manner without some warrant stronger than communal precedent. Within a month of his election a royal writ instructed him to take extraordinary measures to restore good order, and in 1283 Edward expressly ordered justices not to molest the mayor for his new methods and penalties. Forty years later the Londoners were to claim that Waleys acted

[1] See *Letter-Bks. B, C, D, passim*, and H. Cohen, *A History of the English Bar and Attornatus to 1450* (London, 1929). On Berneval, see *Cal. E.M.C. Rolls*, pp. 146–47.

[2] See, for example, *Letter-Bk. A*, pp. 184, 206, 213, 214, 221; *Letter-Bk. C*, pp. 6, 55, 84, 85, and *passim*; Liber Ordinationum, fos. 225 ff. (City of London Records Office); Hust. Roll 14 (10).

throughout on royal orders.[1] It is this which explains the furious controversy which attended two of his edicts in particular. The mayor created an entirely new prison for curfew-breakers, the Tun on Cornhill, and, setting up weighbeams for the pesage of corn en route to the mills, inflicted novel and harsher penalties on scores of convicted bakers and millers. Only eight aldermen attended the council which promulgated these ordinances and controversy over them runs like a red thread through the next twenty years. For they touched the nerve of the franchise. Keeping of the peace and the food assizes was at once the hall-mark of a free borough and the special preserve of monarchy. That Waleys's edicts should encounter such resistance is itself adequate testimony to the real meaning of his mayoralty.[2]

For three years he had enough support to over-ride the opposition of the traditionally-minded. But the Stocks created a new interest and disturbed the balance in the victualling trades; his new houses rose around St Paul's only to the accompaniment of litigious outcry, and with every edict his following dwindled. In October 1284 the aldermen restored Gregory de Rokesle to the mayoralty.

Their timing was singularly unfortunate, for at the end of July the feud between Ralph Crepyn and Laurence Duket had erupted into armed conflict in the middle of Cheap. Duket wounded the alderman and, pursued by Crepyn's supporters, fled for sanctuary to St Mary le Bow. He found none. At midnight his enemies broke in and hanged him in the church. As an additional horror, they tried to disguise the murder as suicide. The outraged king demanded action. Crepyn was deprived of clerkship and aldermanry and sent to the Tower. With him went his fellow-clerks, the rector of St Mary and Jordan Godchep the sheriff. There were hangings and an execution by fire.[3] But hard on this shock came the rejection of Waleys and the re-assertion of patrician independence. Events must have made an ominous conjuncture in Edward's mind. It was after a winter loud with echoes of the

[1] *C.P.R., 1281–92*, p. 80; *Letter-Bk. A*, p. 213; *Liber Custumarum*, pp. 328–29.

[2] *Letter-Bk. A*, pp. 120–21; *Letter-Bk. B*, pp. 13–14; *Letter-Bk. C*, pp. 84–85; *Liber Custumarum*, pp. 82–83, 213; *Ann. Lond.*, p. 90; see also *Letter-Bk. B*, pp. 243–44, and marginal note, and J. Tait, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

[3] *Ann. Lond.*, pp. 92, 93; A. B. Beaven, *op. cit.*, i, p. 374.

Duket murder that he appointed the Kirkby commission and issued his fateful letters patent to St Paul's. Rokesle's protest followed. It is difficult to avoid the inference that Edward acted deliberately, in full awareness of the inevitable consequences. As with the Welsh three years earlier, his opponents were induced to become the authors of their own destruction.

The new régime was launched with irresistible éclat. The king's officers moved in with a zeal for organization and a sense of mission quite alien to civic tradition. They worked through Rokesle's *assizes*, clause by clause, and finally published their decisions in a great proclamation, the *Ordinances*. This was a complete code of city government. The premier city of the realm was to be subjected to the direct authority of royal officers operating on a basis of consent. In their peace regulations the ordinances echo the statutes of Westminster and Winchester, in their commercial clauses they foreshadow the *Carta Mercatoria* of 1303. They were the manifesto of a model régime.[1]

The multitudinous police regulations, which bulk largest, were a development of Waleys's edicts and not novel in themselves, but the crisp, strong clauses were all directed at the massive reinforcement of the executive arm and the bludgeoning of the public into a sense of responsibility. More striking were the commercial edicts. With a stark and shattering simplicity one revolutionary clause ordered the immediate admission of all alien merchants to full citizenship rights. At one stroke, in theory at least, the whole laborious edifice of monopoly was broken and citizenship itself drained of one vital meaning. Aliens were empowered to inspect city balances, their lands and debts were protected, they were to have a piepowder court daily and to provide half the jury in cases which concerned them. Similarly, the most detailed regulations shielded peasant importers from the sharp practice of city victuallers and every opportunity was taken to pare down citizen immunity. Intransigence and inertia blunted the operation of these decrees. There was a running fight with Arnold de Hispannia and his Gascons, and a violent revulsion under Edward II. But many of them proved permanent and they

[1] These ordinances, in part or entirely, were copied into several custumals. See, for example, *Letter-Bk. C*, pp. 15–17; *Liber Albus* (*Munimenta Gildhallae Londoniensis*, i, R.S. 1859), pp. 280–97. The fullest version, and the basis of the text, is Liber Ordinationum, fos. 197–202b.

profoundly modified the commercial structure and climate of London.

City law was no more immune. Writs of customs and services and devised lands were to be pleaded according to old usage, but every other judgment in the Husting was henceforth to be by the Common Law of England, and that strictly. All juries were now to be sworn, trespass was to go to inquest, not compurgation, new actions were provided where city customs had supplied no remedy. Court procedure was reformed; all records were to be duplicated. London was integrated more fully into the national system.

It was an abrupt modernization whose cumulative effects were far-reaching. But there was a price. 'Et le Roy veult que touz entendent qe nule fraunchise ne aucune usage eit lu par quei cest establisement ne seit tenu', proclaimed the ordinances. Elective mayor and sheriffs were gone. Kings had done this before, but Edward went much further. Aldermen themselves were to be appointed in the Exchequer and sworn to his ordinances. London's oldest autonomous, perhaps autogenous, magistrates, its doomsmen, were transformed into royal agents. After 1285 royal judicial commissions penetrated without hindrance into the city. In 1289 the court of the Exchequer itself was installed at Guildhall, draining the city tribunals of vitality, and the Treasurer came to exercise an increasing measure of control over the daily lives of citizens.[1] Not for centuries, perhaps never, had the city been so subject, in such detail, to the royal power.

It was five years before opposition became vocal, an oblique indication, perhaps, of the strength of that civic opinion which found no cause for alarm in the events of 1285. In 1289, however, the Exchequer intruded its irritating presence and Edward, on his return from Gascony, launched his drive against administrative abuse, with its purges and state trials. The atmosphere seemed favourable. A petition for the return of elective sheriffs in 1290 proved successful, and in the following year, during the hearing of *querelae* against officials, Londoners, led by two prominent merchants, crowded forward to assail the wardens. Finally, in

[1] Liber Ordinationum, fo. 197; T. Madox, *The History and Antiquities of the Exchequer* . . . , 2nd edn. (London, 1769), ii, p. 9; *Select Cases before the King's Council, 1243–1482*, ed. I. S. Leadam and J. F. Baldwin (Selden Soc., xxxv, 1918), p. liii.

December 1291, an assembly decided formally to petition the king for the restoration of the mayoralty. It seemed reasonable. There had been frequent suspensions under Henry III, but they had been of brief duration. That which followed Evesham had been exceptional and in any case had been surpassed. London's liberties were hardening into a tradition. But they fed on illusion. Edward answered with a blank refusal.[1]

It was now, perhaps, that full awareness of the king's purpose penetrated London minds. Particular grievances focussed their dismay. They squabbled with Waleys over the St Paul's houses and in 1293 suffered a series of local tallages, levied for sheriffs' arrears.[2] Above all there was the meteoric rise of the Common Clerk John de Bauquell. The royal régime, with its insistence on method and regularity, was a fillip to the growth of a civic bureaucracy. Records multiplied, staffs increased and the clerk was the chief beneficiary. Bauquell was a professional administrator of impenetrably obscure origin. His kinsfolk were cordwainers and skinners of lesser degree. In time, with his loans and his marriage to Cicely de Ludlow, sister of the greatest wool-merchant of England, he entrenched himself in the financial hinterland of city trade, but he owed his first promotion to the king. In 1286, at the earliest opportunity, the Exchequer placed the clerk in an aldermanry. Appointment to the custody of the merchants' seal in all England under the statute of merchants followed. Within a few weeks he had leapfrogged over the heads of his senior colleagues to become virtually a deputy-warden.[3] This was bad enough, but in 1293, shortly after the sheriffs' tallages, the king proposed to confer on the clerk the great hall which Roger de Clifford had bequeathed to the city.[4] Alderman Wolmar de Essex, a woolmonger so heavily indebted to Bauquell that he was later driven into bankruptcy, and Alderman Thomas Box, the husband of Essex's sister-in-law, organized a protest.

[1] *Letter-Bk. A*, p. 198; *Letter-Bk. C*, pp. 3, 4; *P.R.O.* Assize Rolls no. 541a, m. 42d, and no. 541b, mm. 7d, 11, 11d, 23, 26, 30, 31, 34d.

[2] K. R. Memoranda Roll 66, mm. 7, 7d; *Ann. Lond.*, p. 101.

[3] P.R.O. Assize Roll 541b, *passim*; *Letter-Bk. A*, p. 161 and n. 3; *C.C.R., 1279–88*, pp. 297, 301, 361; *C.P.R., 1281–92*, p. 245; A. B. Beaven, *op. cit.*, i, p. 376.

[4] For Clifford's hall, see Hust. Roll 19 (19, 20); *C.P.R., 1272–81*, p. 381; *Letter-Bk. A*, p. 227; *Ann. Lond.*, p. 89; H. A. Harben, *A Dictionary of London* (London, 1918), p. 83 (Blackwell, *i.e.* Bauquell, Hall).

The machinery of government ground to a halt as revolt and dissension paralysed the council.

The warden retaliated with radical action. He deposed the entire council and put through a general election under strict supervision. Essex and Box were duly displaced, the grant to Bauquell was confirmed and the wards were told to see to it that there would be no more 'challenge or opposition' in the future. The Exchequer followed up with an attempt to restore royal control over the appointment of sheriffs, but this foundered on a citizen boycott.[1]

The troubles of 1293 were crucial. Royal government was running into thickening resistance. The very dynamism of the new order had recoiled upon itself. Within eight years it had exhausted its fund of consent. Edward was thrown on the defensive. Time and erosion were to be his allies. Already before 1293 novel figures had appeared on the aldermanic council. Adam de Fulham, the first fishmonger to get there, did so in 1291. Of the ten sheriffs appointed by the Exchequer six belonged to crafts not hitherto represented in the patriciate. It was still possible, however, for a Rokesle to be chosen. But from 1293 to the final collapse of the royal régime not a single member of the old dynasties took office, and hardly any of the new men represented a traditional trade or combination of interests. The only man to approximate to the conventional was Thomas Romeyn and he was an Italian. To find his officers Edward turned away from the established families. He found them, of course, among those very groups whose growing strength had been a factor in the 1263 revolt. In the last five years of the régime three skinners, a fishmonger, a cornmonger, a cutler and a potter reached the council. Three of them were immediate descendants of rebels of 1263.[2] The patriciate was quite abruptly thrown wide open, a factor of crucial significance in the development of the crafts and the newer mercantile interests. For in the circumstances of the late thirteenth century the breach in continuity proved fatal to dynastic pretensions.

These men, however, were new in terms of origin and occupa-

[1] *Letter-Bk. A*, p. 198; *Letter-Bk. C*, pp. 11, 12, 13; *Ann. Lond.*, p. 102. For Essex and Box, see Recog. Roll 1 (234); Hust. Roll 34 (106); St Paul's D. and C. Lib., A. 14/1185; *Letter-Bk. C*, pp. 131–32.

[2] A. B. Beaven, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 376–78, and biographical data from the sources named above.

tion. Politically they could be as prickly as any patrician and Edward's problem resolved itself into the dismally familiar conflict between royal bureaucracy and recalcitrant burgesses. All hope of governing with some measure of consent was abandoned. 'It is an evil thing to fall into the hands of the king, so beware!' wrote Andrew Horn. The Treasurer exhausted every ingenuity to make the system pay. Debts as old as Magna Carta were unearthed and with the war came the maltolte and the wool-seizures. In 1295 angry citizens went before the king's council with a long list of grievances and begged for the mayoralty. But Edward would not let go.[1]

It was the national crisis of 1297 and that crisis alone which broke his hold. From the first outbreak in July, Londoners gave Bohun and Bigod their mass support, added their voice to the demand for the *Confirmatio Cartarum*. Who would resent more the favour shown to aliens, the levies and the wool tax? Magna Carta was widely regarded as the city's mainstay, and the events of 1285 were a violation of its ninth article in particular. 'Ne ils ne ount lur fraunchises les queux ils solayent avoir mes sount mys hors voluntriement...'—whole passages of the *Monstraunces* could have been written by the Londoners themselves.[2] Yet London was the last to benefit from the earls' movement and its success hung by a thread to the final moment. The charters were confirmed on 10 October. Nothing was said of London. On 5 November Edward set his reluctant seal to the agreement, but there was still no word on the city's future. Not until 30 November did the shadow lift.

On that day the warden announced to an assembly at Guildhall that Edward of Caernarvon, the Barons of the Exchequer, Bohun and Bigod had ordered him to 'bear himself in all things as if he were mayor', to maintain the liberties of the city, to abolish Waleys's Tun prison and to annul his corn-trade edicts. 'Nota bene et lege,' added the Husting clerk. Londoners needed no reminder. A riotous crowd, led by eight aldermen, marched to the

[1] *Ann. Lond.*, pp. 71, 98; *Letter-Bk. C*, pp. 4, 7, and *passim*; *Select Cases before the King's Council*, pp. li–lvi, 8–18.

[2] See J. G. Edwards, 'Confirmatio Cartarum and Baronial Grievances in 1297', *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, lviii (1943); H. Rothwell, 'The Confirmation of the Charters, 1297', *ibid.*, lx (1945); F. M. Powicke, *op. cit.*, pp. 678 ff.; F. Thompson, *The First Century of Magna Carta* (Minneapolis, 1925), pp. 21, 22, 38–39.

Tun, broke it, and freed the prisoners.[1] In one dramatic gesture they were ridding themselves of the incubus not only of Edward's wardens but of his mayor Waleys as well.

They were over-optimistic. Edward was desperately slow to yield. Throughout the winter he refused to confirm his regents' decision. Not until April 1298, after much backstage manœuvring, did he restore the mayoralty, and he still spoke ominously of the need to reimpose the controversial edicts. The aldermen took care to choose Waleys as mayor, even though he had resigned his aldermanry four years earlier. But they swiftly purged their own ranks. Within a few days of the restoration Bauquell was ejected from his aldermanry, to begin a new career as a royal officer which was to make him Seneschal of Ponthieu and Baron of the Exchequer, and in an unprecedented reshuffle of seats seven new men, most of them heroes of earlier struggles, reached the council. Finally in April 1299, at the second attempt, they bought a charter from Edward for 2000 marks, which they borrowed from seven Italian companies. It remained only to displace Waleys in a brief flurry of hostility in October 1299 and London was free again.[2]

The effects of Edward's government, however, could not be lightly dismissed. Most striking was its impact on the composition of the patriciate.[3] Despite the pressure of the commercial expansion, the dynasties had held their own into the seventies. It was under Edward's wardens that their representation fell so catastrophically. In the circumstances of the time the breach could not be repaired. The wine trade, prop of the old patrician economy, passed to the Gascons. Under the stimulus of Edward's wars, his wool staple of 1294, his Wardrobe purveyance, London's mercantile classes expanded rapidly. Numbers doubled and trebled; provincial merchants flowed in. In the early fourteenth century the city was handling a third of the trade in wool, a

[1] *Letter-Bk. B*, pp. 243–44. See the account in *A Survey of London by J. Stow*, ed. C. L. Kingsford (Oxford, 1908), i, p. 189; ii, pp. 302–303; confirmed by *Letter-Bk. B*, pp. 75–76, and *Letter-Bk. C*, pp. 37–39. Dr Sharpe reads 'a tun' for 'the Tun'.

[2] *Letter-Bk. B*, pp. 74–76, 88, 213, 214; *Letter-Bk. C*, pp. 29, 37, 38, 43, 44, 77, 78, 107; *C.C.R., 1296–1302*, p. 303; *Calendar of Charter Rolls, 1257–1300*, pp. 477–78; Hust. Roll (Common Pleas) 24, Interlocutoria, mm. a, b, b (dorse), c; A. B. Beaven, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 375–80.

[3] For the conclusions which follow, see below, *Appendix*, based on the usual sources.

good proportion of that in cloth; its skinners dominated the fur trade, its fishmongers, corders, cornmongers were powerful interests in the new and rapidly growing Hanse and Baltic commerce. In this new world of syndicate finance and war purveyance, with its new breed of merchant, the dynasties had no place. Once their political hold was broken, they dwindled to insignificance with remarkable speed.

It was as if a political dam had crumbled. The immediate breach resulted in an inflow of the leaders of the newer trades, the fishmongers, skinners, the dissidents of 1263. Before 1250 none of these trades had been represented on the council. Under the wardens their representation rose phenomenally until they actually outweighed the traditional mysteries. In the early fourteenth century, as the new predominance of established, non-dynastic citizen families yielded to that of immigrant merchants from the provinces, the ratio of older to newer trades settled at its permanent level of five to three. The number of mysteries represented in the aldermanic class almost trebled. And under a patriciate open to all the trade winds the crafts quickly won status and respectability. The charters which had occasioned such trouble twenty years earlier were re-issued without a murmur. Edward's employment of the crafts as police units strengthened their organization, his free trade policy sharpened their apprehensions and ambitions. As soon as his shadow lifted there was a veritable ferment of craft formation and the gilds soon anchored themselves in the civic constitution.

That constitution itself assumed coherent form in the same seminal period. The Londoners had learned the necessity of self-defence. In 1298 they created the Recordership. A city prosecutor, a Common Serjeant made their appearance, attorneys were retained at the Westminster courts, as the city equipped itself with the legal establishment it sorely needed in the new Edwardian realm.[1] As the bureaucracy grew, so did the commons. After the order and regularity of the wardens there could be no return to the informal, *ad hoc* assemblies of the old régime. A whole generation had lived under the new dispensation. The assemblies had begun to think like an estate and in the early fourteenth century the commonalty, too, acquired a political personality, moved forward to win a place in the new order.

[1] *Letter-Bk. B*, pp. 215, 216, 218, 219; *Letter-Bk. C*, pp. 11, 14, 26, 132–33.

The reign of Edward I, in short, is a watershed in the history of London. The Crown, using its prerogative to shape and direct growth, to give legal definition to society, succeeded in integrating London more fully than ever before into the life of the community. The effect, paradoxically enough, was to give free play to those social forces which had first manifested themselves in the days of Simon de Montfort. The first century of civic autonomy, borne on a current of expansion which battered and ultimately breached the constraining walls of custom and received tradition, was too turbulent and unbalanced for the commune to be anything more than another experiment in city management. By breaking the political monopoly of the dynasties, Edward transformed its structure and climate. The year 1285 marks, in effect, the end of that commune. The community which emerged in 1298 was a new political society in course of formation. Stability London was to find amid the crises, coups d'état and executions of the reign of Edward II. The process begun by Edward I was completed by his grandson, and in the great charter of 1327 the commune of a feudal kingdom finally gave place to the capital of an emergent nation.

APPENDIX

The Aldermanic Class, circa 1200–1340

Trade Designations												
Drapers	5	3	8	2	2	5	4	4	3	4	4	44
Mercers	2	2	2	1	2	1	1	4	2	8	4	29
Vintners	4	1	4	3	2	1	1	1	1	2	2	22
Goldsmiths	3	0	2	1	4	1	3	2	2	0	2	20
Pepperers	1	0	1	2	0	2	2	2	2	5	2	19
Woolmongers	0	0	0	0	3	2	0	1	0	3	0	9
Clerks	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	3	2	4	1	13
Fishmongers	0	0	0	0	1	0	4	2	2	1	4	14
Skinners	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	0	0	2	2	8
Cornmongers	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	1	1	5
Corders	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	0	4
Cutlers	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Potters	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Leathersellers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Dyers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Butchers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
No Designation	18	7	3	4	0	1	0	2	1	0	1	37
Total Number of Trades	5	3	5	7	7	8	11	9	7	12	10	16
Aldermanic Origins												
Dynasties	27	9	17	7	7	5	4	4	3	1	1	85
London Families	1	1	0	2	4	5	11	11	4	11	9	59
English Immigrants and immediate descendants	2	2	1	3	3	3	4	5	5	19	14	61
Alien Immigrants and immediate descendants	2	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	2	0	19
Unknown	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	5
Total Number of Aldermen	33	13	20	15	15	15	23	22	15	34	24	229

[Column totals indicate the number of newly-elected aldermen in each decade, viz., pre-1230, 1230–40, 1240–50, 1250–63 (the popular revolt), 1265–75, 1275–85, 1285–98 (period of direct royal government), 1298–1307, 1307–17, 1317–27, 1327–40.]

LLOYD GEORGE AND CHURCHILL AS WAR MINISTERS[1]

By John Ehrman, M.A., F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S.

READ 8 OCTOBER 1960

IN March 1915, when the Dardanelles campaign was at its crisis, F. S. Oliver, the author of *The Endless Adventure*, who had long known many of the leading political figures and the background to politics of his day, wrote to his brother in Canada: 'The only two men who really seem to understand that we are at war are Winston and Lloyd George. Both have faults which disgust one peculiarly at the present time, but there is a reality about them and they are in earnest, which the others aren't.'[2] This affinity was recognized by the two men themselves. Churchill's admiration and affection for Lloyd George are well known. 'There could be no doubt . . .', he has written, referring of all years to 1940, 'that he was our foremost citizen';[3] and his final verdict on Lloyd George's death was 'The greatest Welshman . . . since the age of the Tudors'.[4] Lloyd George returned the affection to the full, and the admiration to a great, though not to the full, extent. 'Men with such gifts', he once remarked of Churchill, 'are rare—very rare. In an emergency they ought to be utilized to the full, and if you keep a vigilant eye on their activities, they are a greater asset than a legion of the conventional sort.'[5] And while he failed to recognize the great development of Churchill's character and judgment in the Second World War, he continued to the end, though critically, to appreciate that he and his younger contemporary together formed a unique phenomenon in public life, a species somehow different from the more prosaic figures by whom they were surrounded and so often obstructed. It is perhaps not without significance

[1] I have not attempted to disguise in print the colloquial character of this paper as it was read, or the personal nature of its judgments.

[2] *The Anvil of War*, ed. Stephen Gwynn (London, 1936), p. 92.

[3] *The Second World War*, ii (1949), p. 503.

[4] *Parliamentary Debates, Fifth Series*, vol. 409, col. 1380.

[5] David Lloyd George, *War Memoirs*, iii (London, 1934), p. 1072.

that Churchill was the only one of Lloyd George's political associates to address him regularly by his Christian name.

This similarity between the two men is particularly noticeable if we confine ourselves to their careers as Prime Ministers in the two World Wars. Then, indeed, a personal comparison becomes obvious and compelling. Both, to begin with, were politically non-conformist. Lloyd George found a convenient resting-place for a long time in the Radical wing of the Liberal Party (though it is worth remembering, as one of the oddities of politics, that if he had not, in his youth, mistaken the date, he would have appeared on a platform in Birmingham as an avowed supporter of Joseph Chamberlain and the Unionist party against Gladstone's Home Rule, and would thus presumably have found himself, at least for a spell, a Conservative). But he ended by splitting and then breaking the party of which he had been a member all his life. Churchill has plagued, adorned and resigned from both of the great parties of his youth, has twice tried to rally new political groupings around himself, and, like several of the great Conservative Prime Ministers, ended by presiding over a party with which he was often out of sympathy. Both men, again, were fertile in imagination and fluent in argument, and both were led into conflict—though in greatly differing degrees—with their professional advisers from the armed forces. Each, in his different way, could dominate his Cabinet. Both were good Parliamentarians, and came to be adept at handling the House of Commons on big occasions. Both could be spellbinders—Lloyd George of almost any audience he chose, Churchill more particularly of a small audience already sympathetic to him, though he could on occasions deeply impress a larger meeting. Both, in the crisis of war, were found to possess exceptional qualities of moral courage and resilience, and the capacity to bear the gravest responsibilities. Both—and this was by no means a foregone conclusion—then showed themselves entirely single-minded in their devotion to achieving victory. Both had that rare and indefinable quality, of catching the imagination of their times. And both, as I have remarked, recognized in each other, despite their many differences, a rare and kindred spirit.

Those differences, however, were also considerable, and indeed at times such as to conceal the points of similarity. Thus, whereas Lloyd George approached strategy rather as H. G. Wells

approached history—as an essentially simple subject which had been unnecessarily complicated by the professionals—Churchill approached it as a professional *manqué*, and differed from his advisers rather in claiming—and often rightly—that his professional arguments were better than theirs. One might say, as a generalization, that Lloyd George preferred to ignore military detail, Churchill to plunge enthusiastically into it. There was moreover a great difference between them in their handling of military men. For when the inevitable disputes arose, Lloyd George was prepared in the last resort to 'go it alone', while Churchill—influenced, it has been suggested, by his experiences in the Dardanelles controversy of the First World War—emphatically was not, and would not move, if it came to the point, without the concurrence of his Service advisers. In their oratory and powers of persuasion, too, the two men were very different. Take the famous account of Lloyd George by Maynard Keynes—a superb picture of a highly sophisticated intelligence surrendering consciously, surprisedly, but only half-reluctantly to an unfamiliar, incalculable and largely distasteful brand of political genius:[1]

> 'How can I convey to the reader, who does not know him, any just impression of this extraordinary figure of our time, this syren, this goat-footed bard, this half-human visitor to our age from the hag-ridden magic and enchanted woods of Celtic antiquity? One catches in his company that flavour of final purposelessness, inner irresponsibility, existence outside or away from our Saxon good and evil, mixed with cunning, remorselessness, love of power, that lend fascination, enthralment, and terror to the fair-seeming magicians of North European folklore. . . .
>
> Lloyd George is rooted in nothing; he is void and without content; he lives and feeds on his immediate surroundings; he is an instrument and a player at the same time which plays on the company and is played on by them too; he is a prism, as I have heard him described, which collects light and distorts it and is most brilliant if the light comes from many quarters at once; a vampire and a medium in one.'

All this is a far cry from the robust, obstinate, weighty,

[1] *Essays in Biography* (1951 edn.), pp. 35–36.

sentimental, healthily self-centred and unprismatic genius of Churchill at the summit of power.

It is symptomatic of this difference that Churchill, while compelling and often overwhelming in argument, seldom proved able in the event to convince an initially unsympathetic audience; and in some *milieux* he was definitely unsuccessful. He was not in fact a good negotiator, if only because he was excessively sensitive to an atmosphere of hostility, and too eager to secure a form of agreement in cases where agreement did not really exist. Lloyd George, on the other hand, was a superb negotiator, if one is looking simply at the process of negotiation. His failures in diplomacy usually came from too great a success at the conference table—and it is all the more remarkable that so alert and tactful a man should have lost his peculiar flair whenever he came to deal with the leaders of the armed forces.

Again, though each pre-eminent in his way, the two Prime Ministers treated their Cabinets very differently. Lloyd George was a good listener, and liked to surround himself with men of independent stature, capable of argument. Churchill, though he too disliked the taciturn and tongue-tied (such as Lord Wavell), was more at the mercy of a sensitive nature, and preferred—though he was not always able to secure it—to have around him able subordinates rather than figures of genuinely independent importance.

Again their characters as well as their personalities—if I may use such terms—were very different; and Churchill's was undoubtedly the bigger of the two. He was far more generous in big issues, more loyal to his associates, possessed of much greater humanity, than one who was, as Keynes divined, ultimately remorseless and rootless. I think it is impossible to imagine Churchill at the height of his power in his later career ruining a great political party, and causing the eclipse of an Administration (as Lloyd George did in 1922), by the mistrust with which he was generally regarded. And it is impossible to imagine him, at the same stage, allowing exclusion from office to drive him into some of the inconsistent follies and worse of Lloyd George in the same state. It is easier, in fact, to accuse Churchill of obstinate adherence to a cause than of an undue willingness to abandon it for its opposite. The central sanity of his character—supported and strengthened, I think, by his historical sense, a quality

entirely lacking in Lloyd George—became increasingly apparent as time went by. So did the central irresponsibility of Lloyd George.

But it is scarcely profitable to pursue this personal comparison beyond a certain point. For such an exercise, after all, becomes relevant only if it takes place within a context of comparable situations. It is because the two Prime Ministers were placed in much the same kind of position, and faced much the same kind of problems; because both came to power in similar circumstances, as the result of dissatisfaction with the conduct of a war, because both thereafter dominated the scene until the war ended, and because the wars themselves were at once alike in many respects and unlike anything that had gone before, that it becomes interesting and necessary to examine the qualities of the two men. To study Lloyd George and Churchill, in fact, is to study the work of a Prime Minister in war as it has been known in this century; and to assess their achievements, we must therefore look briefly at what such work involves.

In doing so, I should perhaps say in advance, I do not propose to discuss the familiar—the wearisomely familiar—subject of the personal strategies favoured by Lloyd George and by Churchill: not only because it is in fact pointless to debate such questions except in full detail, but also because to attempt to do so in a short talk would, I think, obscure the proper perspective. For while it is obvious that the formulation of strategy is one of the most important tasks for which a wartime Prime Minister must be responsible, and is indeed the one by which he will finally stand or fall, it is not by any means the only task, and in fact cannot itself be tackled successfully unless the other tasks are under control. For it is often forgotten, or not appreciated, that while the demands of war are very different from those of peace, the work of the Prime Minister, as the head of Government, does not completely change, but on the contrary consists largely of seeing that the inherited methods of peace—through which alone the war can be fought—are adapted as effectively as possible to needs and pressures which are unfamiliar to them.

A Prime Minister in war has, I would suggest, three main functions to perform. First, he should if possible inspire, and at least sustain, the morale of the nation. Secondly, he should evolve, or cause to be evolved, the most reasonable strategy possible,

within the framework of an Alliance if one exists, and—as part of that function—should get the strategy accepted by his allies. And thirdly, he must harness, or cause to be harnessed, the national economy and administrative system to such a strategy, again as part of the Allied effort if there is an Alliance.

For the first of these tasks, which we may call that of inspiration, both Lloyd George and Churchill were exceptionally well equipped. It is indeed their glory that at times of uncertainty and crisis they identified the country so fully with themselves. Nor is this quality one that should be underrated. For there is perhaps a certain danger of those, such as administrators and historians, who are interested in the conduct of government and war, dismissing it or taking it for granted. Such a neglect, where it occurs, is obviously foolish. In the intensely hierarchical atmosphere produced by modern war, an immense amount must depend on the degree of inspiration generated by the head of Government; and whatever other qualities a wartime Prime Minister may possess, it is fairly certain that without this quality he will not survive for long in hard times. Asquith in 1916, Neville Chamberlain in 1940, fell at least partly because they lacked it. Lloyd George and Churchill—particularly Churchill—will live as much by its possession as by anything else.

But, equally clearly, inspiration by itself is not enough; and indeed it is one of the difficulties of those who try to explain Lloyd George and Churchill on that ground alone that they cannot in fact do so. I suppose that Carson and Kitchener in the First World War, and Lord Beaverbrook in the Second, may be described, in their different ways, as inspiring personalities. But one has only to compare them with Lloyd George or Churchill respectively to see that something more is required. For, of course, inspiration itself will fail after quite a short time if it is not based on competence; and while a Prime Minister in war must not only be, but must seem to be, the man for the job, the first half of that truism is as important as the second. A wartime Prime Minister, in fact, must be capable of handling, of 'gripping', to use a favourite word of Churchill's, a complex and hard-strained system of government. And for this he needs knowledge and experience, as well as the imaginative flair to exploit them in unusual circumstances. Both Lloyd George and Churchill, it is well known, possessed the imaginative flair. It is not so often

appreciated to what extent they also possessed the knowledge and experience to which such a flair must be geared. Both in fact were very good administrators for war, to whose personal efforts it is very largely due that this country, alone of the major powers that endured the full course of both World Wars, survived without destroying or devitalizing its familiar institutions. Both men certainly kicked against the administrative pricks, as one can read in the memoirs of those who had to deal with them. But it does not seem to me particularly surprising that this should have been so, or that the imagination which could see what was required should, in the course of securing it, strain and sometimes distort the system which it was doing so much to create.

In forging this war system, Churchill was undoubtedly more fortunate in his conditions than Lloyd George, if only because he had his predecessor's experience and achievements behind him. Lloyd George indeed entered upon a thoroughly discouraging inheritance, at a time, as we can see in retrospect, of peculiar importance and difficulty. It is now widely accepted that the years 1915–17 mark the watershed between the worlds of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and that many of our political and social assumptions derive from the experiences of that period. It was then that we were first afflicted by war on the scale, and with many of the implications, which we now take for granted. The failure of the Dardanelles campaign in 1915, removing the last real possibility of turning the enemy's flank, left no alternative—unless a new war-winning weapon was to be introduced—to a costly war of attrition, with results which were soon to be shown for the manpower, production, and social patterns of the belligerent States. The year 1916 saw the first manifestations, partial, hesitant but unmistakable, of total war. For the first time it became necessary for Government to intervene in, and begin to control, the distribution of the national economy, where previously it had been necessary for it only to stimulate and supervise production. In such revolutionary circumstances, the traditional methods of government, inherited from the nineteenth century, were bound to prove inadequate. It is one of Lloyd George's achievements that he grasped this very early in the process. On assuming power at the end of 1916 he at once—within a month—drastically revised the structure of administration, creating several new Ministries and Departments and

overhauling others. His division of functions and responsibilities, indeed, has remained the basis for subsequent developments, and proved an admirable model for a similar expansion in the Second World War. At the same time, he recognized that the central direction was proving inadequate to the military conduct of the war. A Cabinet of peacetime dimensions was still combined uneasily with a succession of War Councils or War Committees, designed to supervise the day to day conduct of the war but with a membership and procedure which, deriving as they did from pre-war military committees, were more suited to providing study and advice than responsible decisions. As a result, it was impossible to say on any one occasion where responsibility rested, and to take the firm and rapid decisions necessary in war. It was equally difficult, given such circumstances, to organize satisfactorily the subordinate system for providing professional advice, when the two distinct functions were muddled in this way. The Dardanelles campaign finally showed the urgent need for a change, but the second Asquith Government seemed incapable of providing it. Lloyd George at once found an answer, and again in a form which, with modifications, has endured. In December 1916 he abolished both Cabinet and War Committee, and replaced them with a small War Cabinet, the final repository of power, most of whose members were freed from departmental duties. The new body was in fact a Committee of Public Safety, relying on a political coalition between Lloyd George Liberals and Conservatives to relieve it of the burden of Parliamentary preoccupations, and on the revised departmental system to preserve it from the detail of administration.

This pattern was repeated at the outset of the Second World War. The Chamberlain Government then set up the group of fresh Departments which had been prepared in peace, and a small War Cabinet, though one whose members were not divorced so sharply as before from departmental duties. This was all right as far as it went; but it did not go far enough. For while the new arrangements repeated the virtues of Lloyd George's system, they failed to avoid some of its shortcomings, for which further development was required.

Those shortcomings existed particularly in the liaison between the War Cabinet and the many agents of government which it had directly to control. In the First World War, various means

had been tried to make this vital link more effective: to render the whole vast range of departmental administration more manageable by the small body at the top, particularly when most of its members were no longer themselves heads of Departments; to establish satisfactory relations between the War Cabinet and the Service chiefs and staffs; and to co-ordinate the complicated demands of the military and civil sectors of government. The answer had been provided, in the last year or so of the war, in the shape of standing Cabinet committees, on which the Ministers of the War Cabinet presided over Ministers, officials and officers from the various executive agencies. But this system did not have time to settle down or to develop very far by the end of the war; and although thereafter, in the years between the wars, the military committees expanded greatly, they did so—as their predecessors had done before 1914—for purposes of study and advice rather than of decision; while the central civil committees scarcely developed at all. It was on this sector of government, accordingly, that Churchill concentrated in the Second World War. On coming into office, he at once remodelled the military committee system, to concentrate power more effectively in himself and his professional advisers, the Chiefs of Staff; and a year later, partly of his own volition and partly this time on advice, he greatly extended and altered the system of civil committees, in a form which, basically, has endured since the war for the central planning and supervision of economic and administrative affairs. These changes, in fact, carried a stage farther the work begun by Lloyd George, in adapting the traditional system of Cabinet government to the needs of total war.

The modified system worked a great deal better under Churchill than its predecessor had done under Lloyd George. On the military side, in particular, the Prime Minister and the Chiefs of Staff worked together much more harmoniously in the Second World War than in the First. They did so for several reasons. In the first place, everyone in Whitehall in the Second World War was determined not to repeat, if possible, the costly frontal assaults which had characterized the campaigns of 1915–18; and the expulsion of British forces from the Continent in 1940 at once made this ideal a practical possibility. There were no 'Easterners' and 'Westerners' in the formative years of the Second World War. The problems, in so far as they were not

defensive, were for long of a different kind. How far should the productive effort be put into bombing? Where best to strike at the circumference of the Axis position? What resources, in such circumstances, could be spared for the Far East? And when at last the Western Allies could pass to the offensive, the determination to avoid the experience of the past ensured that, whatever their differences, all authorities in London agreed basically on the strategy to be adopted in Europe. Their most serious disputes were in fact reserved for the Far East, where strategic alternatives were fundamental and, thanks largely to the paucity of resources, extremely hard to resolve. Even so, the choice here depended ineluctably on a factor beyond British control—the rate of American progress through the Pacific. And angry as the Chiefs of Staff and the Prime Minister became with each other, all appreciated in the end that events in the Far East might overtake the debate, and that, in the last resort, their decisions for that theatre were, in the largest sense, marginal.

In arguing these matters, moreover, both sides had reflected, and been taught, a good deal about the experiences of politicians and soldiers in the First World War, and again were determined if possible that those should not be repeated. We have heard a lot recently about Churchill's behaviour to his military advisers; and it is of course entirely true that he was often exceedingly difficult to work with. Probably only those who have experienced his exceptional powers of interference and obstinacy can appreciate exactly how difficult he could be. But that must not blind us to the fact that he always kept those powers within limits—even if of his own choosing—and that he never allowed himself to go to the lengths, or to adopt the sort of methods with his Service advisers, to which Lloyd George was driven, or sank, in the First World War. However exasperating he might be—and it must not be overlooked that very often he had good cause—the Chiefs of Staff knew that he would not intrigue, that he would not abandon them in secret, and that in the last resort he would listen to their opinion. And the Chiefs of Staff, for their part, were men of a higher calibre than the Service chiefs in the First World War. It was indeed fortunate that such men as Portal and Alanbrooke came to sit on the supreme working military committee, and by their intelligence and character ensured both that it functioned on the whole efficiently and—equally important—

as a unity, whose members were known not to intrigue. This was perhaps a matter of chance. It is possible to think of several eminent officers, both slightly senior and slightly junior to the Chiefs of Staff themselves, whose appointments might easily have been unfortunate in both respects. But it was not entirely chance; for whatever the shortcomings of individuals, the development of the central military committee system between the two wars had taught senior officers a good deal about co-operation between the Services and between them and the whole range of civil government. Churchill thus found himself working with more experienced men, in a far more sophisticated system, than Lloyd George had encountered a quarter of a century before. And finally, he himself was in a much stronger position than his predecessor. The political and personal conditions in which he came to office—the fact that there was no obvious rival from the start —saved him from the uncertainties and embarrassments which dogged Lloyd George's every move for over a year, and favoured the system he exploited and the means by which he did so. On the one hand he was able, as only a politically secure Prime Minister could have done, to work closely with his Service advisers without having to worry too much about political reactions: on the other, his unique record and experience—the fact that he had been a Service Minister when the Chiefs of Staff of the Second World War were young subalterns and lieutenants, and a household name when they were at school—gave him a prestige which the socially undistinguished Radical Lloyd George, whose very name was anathema to the average Admiral and General of his day, entirely lacked at the start, and fought savagely to gain. It may seem odd to say that the conditions for Churchill in 1940 were easier than those for Lloyd George in 1916. But it is true, if by that we mean not the conditions of the war itself, but for his conduct of it.

The result, in Churchill's hands, was a triumph. Government in a hard-fought war inevitably breeds bitter disputes and personal antipathies. But allowing fully for all this, it can hardly be doubted that the last war was conducted more smoothly and efficiently from London than any war in British history. It therefore remains surprising at first sight that the Prime Minister, more secure and powerful than any of his wartime predecessors since Chatham, should have failed in its later years to have his way on

any major strategic decision. Indeed, he was perhaps less successful in this from 1943 to 1945 than Lloyd George, with all his setbacks and difficulties, had been in 1917–18. Again there are various reasons. But the most important lies in the nature of the Alliance. For if Churchill's domestic conditions were easier than those of Lloyd George, the conditions under which he worked with his allies were in many ways less promising.

Again, this may perhaps seem a strange statement to make. The Alliance of the First World War embraced an ill-assorted group of nations, which was subjected, by defeat in some cases, by disaffection or revolution in others, to a series of appalling strains, and emerged victorious only after a final convulsion, in the spring of 1918, that almost proved disastrous. The Alliance of the Second World War, by contrast, weathered its most dangerous moments early in its course, was clearly gaining strength thereafter, and in the West achieved a remarkable cohesion between the two major powers of Britain and the United States. The combination of Churchill and Roosevelt had no parallel in the First World War; nor, despite the serious differences that arose from time to time between their Governments, did the working alliance of the British and American forces. But this pattern, for which Churchill in person may take a lion's share of the credit, was set in the first phase of the Alliance; and as the war progressed it became increasingly endangered. It was only by the exercise of great tact, skill and magnanimity that the Prime Minister managed in the later years to retain as much influence for his country as he did. After 1943 Britain gradually and inevitably sank in the balance between the two larger powers of the United States and Russia, and in the last year of the war that fact could no longer be obscured. In the First World War, on the other hand, the latent strength which she possessed at the outset was felt increasingly as time went by, so that by 1918 Lloyd George was representing the strongest power in the Alliance. Despite, therefore, the many difficulties he encountered—and again it was he in person who may claim a lion's share of the credit—he was well placed to make the British influence felt, and to secure the adoption by his partners of the improved British methods for waging the war. In this, he may have been assisted by the very fact that defeat remained a real possibility almost to the end, thereby helping to preserve those ties of common funk which the obvious but

gradual approach of victory weakened from 1943 to 1945. In the First World War, in fact, the Alliance grew stronger and more coherent in the final stages, and Britain emerged as its most powerful member. In the Second World War, the Alliance began to disintegrate as Russia and the West came more closely into contact, and Britain had to fight increasingly hard to maintain her position in the Western partnership itself.

In handling their very different Allied problems, both Lloyd George and Churchill displayed great skill. Indeed, I am not sure that Lloyd George at least was not at his best as an Allied leader. Certainly, his exceptional sensitivity to atmosphere, his intuitive understanding of natures very different from his own, were seen to enormous advantage on the international stage. Churchill achieved his very great standing within the Alliance of his day by an almost contrary process: by subordinating, rather than exploiting, his instinctive attitudes, and keeping within strictly defined bounds his natural propensity to dominate and argue. One might indeed see in his domestic disputes over the Far East in 1944 a compensation for his recognition—which was quite conscious—of the limits within which he must act abroad. Both Prime Ministers of course made their mistakes in handling their allies. Lloyd George's quarrels with his Service advisers at home led him to adopt some strange expedients in promoting his contacts abroad—expedients, it may be noted, which he was content to let drop when his domestic opponents had been quelled. Churchill, for his part, did not always handle the American Chiefs of Staff well, and in particular might have gained more strategic concessions in 1943–44 by a greater reliance on Field Marshal Dill in Washington, at the expense, by then, of Harry Hopkins. But such shortcomings, in the last resort, are matters of detail. Broadly speaking, both men understood very well how to make an Alliance work. Despite the very real limits to what they achieved, both acted as catalysts for their Alliances. It was they who, more than any one else, brought those combinations into effective being and sustained them in hard times. 'Nations', it was remarked almost a century ago, 'touch at their summits.' [1] If they did so in the two World Wars, it was on each occasion very largely due to the British Prime Minister.

As Allied war leaders in the strict sense of achieving military

[1] Walter Bagehot, *The English Constitution* (London, 1867), p. 152.

victory, one can hardly indeed cavil at the achievement in either case. Whether Lloyd George or Churchill exploited that achievement as best they could in pursuing the objects of victory is a wider question, and one less easy to answer. In a sense, Lloyd George's task here was perhaps more difficult than that of Churchill, in that the very nature of the settlement to be imposed on the losers, and the very shape of Europe after so rude an end to a century of stability, were problems of a new kind. British influence, moreover, although strong by 1918, was exercised within a traditional structure of European powers still sovereign in the nineteenth-century sense of the term, and conscious of a somewhat uneasy relationship with the potent but puzzling addition of the United States. These difficulties must be judged in assessing Lloyd George's failure to realize his aims at Versailles —for, at least at first, he did not favour the kind of settlement ultimately adopted. In 1945, the victors had their predecessors' experience in peacemaking to guide or to warn them, and a greater disposition both on the part of the Western European powers and of the United States to work closely together, and to surrender sovereignty in some respects to a wider association. The great obstacle in this case was the fact that a powerful potential enemy had come into sight before the war ended, and in the complicating guise of an ally. The critical period for peacemaking, therefore, came on this occasion while the war was still in progress, and the diplomatic future was affected by strategic decisions. How far Churchill's prescient fear of Russia might have been transmitted into effective action with American support, must remain a matter of opinion. For what it is worth, I would be inclined to say, hardly at all. Certainly, I think, this applies to the last stage of the war in Europe as it developed in 1945. And if we go back a stage further, and ask—as so many Americans have recently been asking—if a Western invasion of south-east Europe might not have proved a better basis for diplomatic action than the strategy that was adopted, I think we must remember that Churchill himself was not committed to the idea of such a campaign at the expense of one in north-west Europe, and that if it had taken place the Russians might have switched their efforts, with the forces thus released, to achieve a position of greater strength elsewhere—say to the west and north of Poland as well as to a more limited extent to the south and south-east.

These are might-have-beens. Two other questions may perhaps be put as a conclusion to these remarks. First, it may be asked if one is justified in attaching so much weight, in scenes of such complexity, to the personal efforts of the two men. I would suggest that one is. In the last hundred years or so, the Prime Minister has become increasingly, to quote a phrase of Lord Morley's before the First World War, 'the keystone of the Cabinet arch'. His powers are great in peace, greater in war, and, with a Prime Minister such as Lloyd George or Churchill whom war is apt to produce, very great indeed. Provided the conditions themselves allow, he is then much more free than usual to exploit them, and to mould the form at least of short-range events—and short-range events, after all, are then extremely important. It is no doubt an exaggeration to say what Churchill himself has said of Lloyd George, that 'when the English history of the first quarter of the century is written, it will be seen that the greater part of our fortunes in peace and in war were shaped by this one man'.[1] But it is not such an exaggeration, I suggest, to say that the fortunes of war could not have been the same without him.

And secondly, it may be asked—it has often been asked—which of these two wartime Prime Ministers was the greater. It is not a question I should like to answer: so many different elements, so many differences even between the points of similarity, must be taken into account. Nor is it, I suspect, the sort of question that historians think should be asked, at least of them; for a confident answer would run counter to the way in which historians are trained to approach their problems. Perhaps we may conclude, therefore, with the safe remark that together the two men formed an extraordinary combination, and that it is fortunate, for the survival of the country itself and of its traditional institutions in this century, that the normal political world should have thrown up such a figure on each occasion, to work within its framework and to preserve by his unusual methods a tried and familiar form of government. Of the two men themselves, we can only say of each what Gibbon, in less complimentary vein, said of Andronicus Comnenus: that placed 'in every deed of mischief, he had a heart to resolve, a head to contrive, and a hand to execute'.[2]

[1] Quoted in Thomas Jones, *Lloyd George* (London, 1951), p. 290.

[2] *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. J. B. Bury, v (1911), p. 248.

JOHN OF FORD AND ENGLISH CISTERCIAN WRITING 1167–1214

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READ 12 NOVEMBER 1960

CISTERCIAN writing produced in the half-century after the death of Ailred of Rievaulx seems in comparison with that of the earlier generation unattractive and undistinguished. This impression is, however, largely caused by the lack of any one figure comparable with the abbot of Rievaulx who might arrest our attention and then stimulate an appreciation of the whole scene. In addition, the brightness coming from that great light, to adopt a figure from Walter Daniel,[1] has almost effaced the memory of those lesser lights who came after him. Yet it must be confessed at the outset that by literary standards little of their work is distinguished. None of it, however, is devoid of interest for the historian. It comes from a period whose course is difficult to trace, and besides helping us to understand better the order's intellectual and spiritual life, it shows us some of the connexions between this and Cistercian prosperity.

Although much detailed work has still to be done, it is possible to see already that these fifty or so years have a character of their own in the history of the order. A time of consolidation and conservation in every sphere of activity followed one of foundation and expansion.[2] The writers of this age lived in easier times, when those who had known hard pioneering days were few and links with the fervour of the first white monks were weak.[3] But their life still differed markedly from that of any other group of religious. They belonged to an order which possessed unique means of enforcing adherence to its rule and to the regulations it

[1] *The Life of Ailred of Rievaulx by Walter Daniel*, ed. F. M. Powicke (Nelson's Medieval Classics, 1950), p. 1.

[2] Dom David Knowles, [*The*] *Monastic Order* [*in England*], corrected edn. (Cambridge, 1949), pp. 346–59.

[3] Serlo, a centenarian at Kirkstall, must have been one of them; *ibid.*, p. 232, n. 5.

might pass to suit new needs; a distinction which began to fade after the Fourth Lateran Council.[1] About the same time recruitment began to suffer with the coming of the Mendicant Orders,[2] and the traditional intellectual life of the monks began to be undermined by new currents of thought. The death of Ailred symbolizes the separation of this generation from the earlier age, and another death, that of John of Ford in 1214, forms an equally good mark of the later boundary. He was a worthy upholder of the Cistercian tradition in learning and writing, who to some extent overtops and exemplifies his contemporaries in the same way as Ailred had done.

Apart from four or five years during which John was abbot of Bindon, the greater part of his life was spent at Ford, where he became abbot in 1191.[3] This is the only stage of his career which can be dated precisely, but it is likely that he became a monk in the decade of Ailred's death,[4] prior by 1184,[5] and went to Bindon two or three years later.[6] After his return to Ford he played some part in the administration of the order as a whole[7] and in local ecclesiastical affairs.[8] He was clearly regarded as a person of ability at the general chapter, one fit to deal with tricky matters like the notorious riot of the lay-brothers of Margam in 1206.[9]

Up to this point his experience was not without parallel among the lives of his contemporaries, but in 1204 he became confessor

[1] Knowles, *op. cit.*, p. 373.

[2] Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, i (Cambridge, 1948), pp. 6, 316.

[3] *Ann*[*ales*] *Margam.*, *s.a.* 1191 (ed. H. R. Luard, *Ann. Mon*[*astici*], i, (R[olls] S[eries], 1864, p. 21).

[4] His use of local evidence in the Life of Wulfric suggests this; *Wulfric* [*of Haselbury*], ed. Dom Maurice Bell (Somerset Record Soc., xlvii, 1932), pp. xx–xxxix: also the time when it was begun, *infra*, p. 129.

[5] John is called prior in the first prologue dedicated to Bartholomew of Exeter; *Wulfric*, pp. 7, 136.

[6] In 1186–87, W[illiam] is called abbot in a papal commission (W. Holtzmann, *Papsturkunden in England*, ii (Berlin, 1935), p. 437).

[7] *Statuta* [*capitulorum generalium ordinis Cisterciensis*], ed. J. M. Canivez (Louvain, 1933–39), i, *s.a.* 1198–1213, *passim.*

[8] *Wulfric*, pp. xiii–xiv; J. C. Russell, *Dictionary of Writers of Thirteenth Century England* (*Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, *Special Suppl.* no. 3, 1936), pp. 62 ff.

[9] Canivez, *Statuta* . . . , i, p. 324; Knowles, *Monastic Order*, p. 660.

to King John, and so entered a small, select, company.[1] According to his own words he owed this post to Hubert Walter,[2] who so often proved himself to be a considerable friend to the Cistercians.[3] It is possible that the archbishop first noticed John in 1202, when the abbot brought him a letter from the general chapter.[4] There was, however, an older, if indirect, connexion between them: a member of his household, Alexander, had become a monk at Ford.[5] The new position was not an easy one for John, although it only involved intermittent attendance upon the king.[6] He found that his influence diminished with the years, and so after three had passed, he resigned, putting forward his colleague, Henry of Bindon, in his place.[7]

The last years of his life were overshadowed by the spiritual deprivations of the Interdict and by financial worries caused by heavy taxation.[8] In 1210 John made a fruitless effort to intercede with the king on behalf of the Cistercians, receiving for his pains only abuse and the warning of heavy penalties if they failed to pay quickly.[9] Ford itself was not forced to disband like many other houses, but it did receive at least one refugee. Alexander, then abbot of Meaux, retired there, convinced that in his resignation lay the only chance of saving his already dispersed abbey from utter ruin.[10] These events left a gloomy mark on John's writing,[11] and we may believe the tradition recorded by Leland that his burial was celebrated 'without much pomp', since the Interdict had not ended when he died.[12] Apart, however, from these final

[1] Bell says about 1210 (*Wulfric*, p. xiii). Early in 1205 he was given wine for celebrating Mass; *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, i, p. 18.

[2] Balliol College, MS. 24, fo. 175^{v}; I hope to publish this sermon in the near future.

[3] C. R. Cheney, *From Becket to Langton* (Manchester, 1956), pp. 37 ff.

[4] Canivez, *Statuta . . .*, i, p. 281.

[5] *Chron. mon. de Melsa*, ed. E. A. Bond (R.S., 1866–68), i, p. 289.

[6] Russell, *Dictionary of Writers . . .*, *loc. cit.*

[7] Balliol College, MS. 24; *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, and *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, 1207–1216, *passim.*

[8] Knowles, *Monastic Order*, pp. 368–69.

[9] Balliol College, MS. 24.

[10] *Wulfric*, p. xiii; *Chron. mon. de Melsa*, i, pp. 353 ff.

[11] Two sermons are devoted to the Interdict (Balliol College, MS. 24, fos. 99^{r}–101^{v}, 173^{v}–176^{r}).

[12] *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis*, ed. A. Hall (Oxford, 1709), i, p. 231; Bell gives 1220 (*Wulfric*, p. xiv), *recte* 21 April 1214, *Ann. Waverl.* (*Ann. Mon.*, ii), pp. 281–82.

years, Ford appears to have been a prosperous and growing community under his guidance. It sent out a second daughter to Dunkeswell in 1201,[1] and extended its own buildings about the same time.[2]

During the course of this busy life John wrote a good deal, although only two major works now remain upon which to judge his reputation: a life of Wulfric of Haselbury, and a commentary on the last part of the Song of Songs.[3] The first, the work of his youth, had a good reception and continued to be read in various versions until the Reformation and beyond,[4] but the second, the work of his old age, was scarcely noticed at its first appearance and little read afterwards. The reasons for these differing fates lie in the works themselves, and also in the times in which they appeared. The life of Wulfric is a vivid book, enlivened by humour and many anecdotes, some about famous people like King Stephen and St Bernard, which gave it an immediate appeal. Its prophesies and visions suited popular taste and also came up to contemporary critical standards, since good chapter and verse were given for all of them. Such a book was a natural quarry for Roger of Wendover and later for Matthew Paris. Indeed, it can be claimed that it rescued the memory of 'the most celebrated anchorite of medieval England' from oblivion. It recreated a man and popularized a cult.[5]

John's commentary on the Song of Songs, on the other hand, belonged to a *genre* which was passing out of fashion.[6] It was lengthy, as he himself admitted,[7] and written to suit an audience

[1] *Ann. Margam.* (*ibid.*, i), pp. 25–26.

[2] Dedication of the church, 1239, *Ann. Waverl.* (*ibid.*, ii), p. 323. The present remains are of the same period, *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments in England, Dorset*, i (1952), pp. 240–46.

[3] Russell, *Dictionary of Writers . . ., loc. cit.* A Palm-Sunday sermon is edited anonymously, *Collect*[*anea*] *Ord*[*inis*] *Cist*[*erciensium*] *Ref*[*ormatorum*], vii (1940), pp. 36 ff.

[4] *Wulfric*, pp. lxiv ff.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. lxx, lxxiii ff.

[6] B. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1952), p. 281; 'Some Thirteenth-Century Commentaries on the Sapiential Books', *Dominican Studies*, ii (1949), p. 324.

[7] Balliol College, MS. 24, fo. 7r: 'Quia uero prolixitatem operis huius delicatioribus auribus oneri futuram esse non dubito, rei huius cuius iam penitentia sera est ueniam a lectoribus peto. Breuitatem quidem uitare curaui, quod simplicioribus ingeniis minus sit luculenta et eximias sententias non pro sua maiestate euoluat, set uerborum inuoluat et frangat angustiis.' The Prologue and first sermon were edited anonymously, *Collect. Ord. Cist. Ref.*, v (1938), pp. 250–61.

which was fast diminishing even within monastic circles. At the same time it appeared when communications with the continent were disturbed, which may have been enough, considering the nature of the work, to prevent its circulation among Cistercians there, who might otherwise be expected to have known of it. Yet almost because it had such small success John's work demands a closer look.

From its earliest days the Christian Church has found in the Song of Songs a wealth of teaching about the relations between God and the Church, and God and the individual.[1] Some of this might possibly have surprised its original author, but it is certainly of the greatest significance in the history of spirituality. The twelfth century is the century of the Song *par excellence*. The text was expounded in a flood of commentaries while its imagery moulded hagiography and poetry alike.[2] To this century the Cistercians made a distinctive contribution, through commentaries in which, as Dom Leclercq has said, they used each verse less as an exercise in the moral or tropological exposition of the text than as 'a pretext for the expression of a mystical experience'.[3] The commentary which popularized this technique and embodied it most successfully was St Bernard's; the labour of eighteen years[4] and the recipient of his deepest feelings about the love of God. It had an enormous influence within and beyond his order as soon as it appeared, and for many generations afterwards.[5] Matthew of Rievaulx, early in the thirteenth century, praised it as Bernard's

[1] See articles 'Cantique des Cantiques' in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, and *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*; F. Ohly, *Hohelied-Studien* (Wiesbaden, 1958); J. Leclercq, 'Gilbert de Stanford', *Studia Anselmiana*, xx (1948), pp. 205–30; 'Ecrits Monastiques sur la Bible aux XI^e–XIII^e siècles', *Mediaeval Studies*, xv, pp. 95–106.

[2] Jocelyn of Furness, *Life of St Kentigern*, prologue (ed. J. Pinkerton, *Vitae Antique Sanctorum*, 1789, p. 196), alludes to Cant. iii. 2; *Life of St Waldef*, ii. 22 (*Acta Sanctorum*, August, i, 256), to ii. 4, v. 16, vii. 7; Walter Daniel, *Life of Ailred* (ed. Powicke), pp. 9, 11, to ii. 12, vi. 3. This influence has been noticed in Flanders; S. Roisin, *L'hagiographie cistercienne dans le diocèse de Liège au XIII^e siècle* (Louvain, 1947), pp. 242–43, 246.

[3] Leclercq, 'Gilbert de Stanford', p. 208.

[4] Leclercq, *Saint Bernard Mystique* (1948), pp. 480–83.

[5] Leclercq estimates a thousand copies *c.* 1200, 'Recherches sur les Sermons sur les Cantiques de S. Bernard: IV', *Rev*[*ue*] *Bén*[*édictine*], lxv (1955), p. 231, n. 7.

crowning memorial and achievement, 'certe hec tibi debetur et laus et laurea soli'; a judgement typical of both his age and ours.[1]

We do not know whether it was ever St Bernard's intention to pursue his exposition to the end of the Song. Given his method, it was to some degree irrelevant what verse he was commenting on, but when he died, only having reached the end of the second chapter, the general chapter asked an English Cistercian, Gilbert of Hoyland, to finish it. Death cut his commentary short in turn at the middle of the fifth chapter. The choice of the order then fell on Geoffrey of Auxerre, a former friend and secretary of St Bernard's.[2] He made his acceptance conditional on being allowed to start from the beginning all over again. The results were scrappy and mainly derivative, until he reached the last part of the Song, but even there he does not compare well with Bernard or Gilbert in skill or spirit. It is not surprising that his efforts did not circulate widely[3] and were only recently rediscovered. John of Ford did not know them,[4] nor those of a closer contemporary at Pontigny.[5] When he began to take up the threads where Gilbert had left off, no one had tried to expound the final chapters on the same scale as St Bernard.

There is no sign that John received official encouragement in the same way as Gilbert or Geoffrey, but it is very unlikely that he wrote without it. According to Baldwin of Ford, the statute which forbade the writing of any book without permission from the general chapter[6] was in force when he wrote his treatise *De Commendatione Fidei* about ten years after Ailred's death.[7] In 1176 this

[1] Dom A. Wilmart, 'Les Mélanges de Mathieu, Préchantre de Rievaulx', *Rev. Bén.*, lii (1940), p. 54.

[2] Leclercq, 'Les écrits de Geoffroy d'Auxerre', *Rev. Bén.*, lxii (1952), pp. 281, 283.

[3] Wardon seems the only house to have had a copy; Leland, *Collectanea*, ed. T. Hearne (Oxford, 1770), iv. 12.

[4] This emerges from a comparison of the two commentaries, and from the lack of any reference to him, whereas there are some to Bernard (Balliol College, MS. 24, fos. 6^{v}, 47^{v}, 109^{v}, 124^{v}) and Gilbert (fo. 65^{r}, *cit. infra*).

[5] Auxerre, Bibl. Municipale, MS. 50, which is discussed by C. H. Talbot, *Studia Anselmiana*, xliii (1958).

[6] *Consuetudines*, cap. lviii.

[7] Bodleian Library, MS. Laud Misc. 91, fo. 72^{v}: 'Nam cum aliquando de capitulo Cistercii regrediens apud Diuionem, cum eiusdem loci tunc abbate Alexandro, uiro digne memorabili . . . siue iussus, siue rogatus sum ab eo de fide quippiam scribere . . . Nam tunc temporis nos eiusdem ordinis monachi,

provision was widened to include collections of sermons and shorter works.[1] Unfortunately the process of seeking such permission has left no mark in the official records of the order, but the chronicle of Alberic of Trois Fontaines contains what may be an echo of the discussion which preceded the undertaking of John's other large work. He records under the year of Wulfric's death, 1154, that John abbot of Ford was writing his life.[2] It would be extraordinary if he obtained this information, which he alone among chroniclers gives, except from news gathered at general chapter. But no one has anything to say about the commentary; perhaps it passed unnoticed at a time when Cistercians were distracted by much more pressing matters.

The commentary also lacks the *cachet* which a connexion with an ecclesiastical superior might have provided. The life of Wulfric, on the other hand, received the encouragement in the first place of Bartholomew of Exeter. By the time it was finished, he had died, and so John wrote a second preface to Baldwin, now bishop of Worcester, the sole survivor of those originally appointed by Bartholomew to examine the work.[3] Such powerful patronage was very commonly enlisted at this time, for it helped to protect a writer against possible accusations of error.[4] The commentary had none. It was dedicated to Christ alone, and the reader was asked in the prologue to censor the work himself.[5] This in itself may have settled its fate in an age when heresy was rife.

Any conclusion about this, or the official genesis of the work, must be tentative, but more can be suggested about the way in which John might have come to conceive the idea of completing St Bernard's work. This was no small conceit. Inevitably his achievement would be compared with that of his great predecessor, however much he himself might declare that he did not

sine licentia scribere non sinebamur . . .' This dates the beginning of the treatise to pre-1175, when Alexander died, *Gallia Christiana*, iv, col. 988.

[1] Canivez, *Statuta* . . ., i, p. 84.

[2] *M.G.H.*, *Scriptores*, xxiii, p. 842.

[3] *Wulfric*, pp. xvi ff., 7–12.

[4] G. B. Flahiff, 'The Censorship of Books in the Twelfth Century', *Mediaeval Studies*, iv (1942), pp. 1–22.

[5] Balliol College, MS. 24, fo. 6r: 'Domine Iesu, tua est causa; tu suscipe patrocinium eius pro me'; fo. 7r: 'Unde si quid in ea erratum esse lector inuenerit, scalpello queso non parcat.'

attempt to rival it.[1] Some confidence no doubt came from the success of the Life. Most probably came from his own training, and from living long in a community with a strong literary tradition.

Over fifty years of John's life were spent as a monk, and it is likely that most of his higher education was gained at Ford. He may have attended the schools, possibly at Exeter near by, before his conversion, but such knowledge as he shows of matters being discussed in the schools of his day could well have come to him second-hand. Certainly his mind shows few signs of a scholastic training, apart from one quotation from Aristotle.[2] The authors who moulded his thought, St Gregory, Anselm of Canterbury, Richard of St-Victor, and his forebears among the white monks,[3] were all such as he could have read in the times set aside for study in the Rule.[4] During his lifetime their works formed the kernel of the monastic *lectio*, which was more a process of rumination than reading, directed towards savouring the divine wisdom within a book rather than finding new ideas or novel information.[5] The school within which John gained his learning was one

[1] Balliol College, MS. 24, fo. 6^{v}: 'Sic, inquam, post magnum illum uirum, beatum loquor Bernardum, currere exopto, non quasi emulus glorie set pedissequus uie.'

[2] *Ibid.*, fo. 215^{v}: 'Si enim sompnus, ut aiunt qui de naturalibus disputant, quies est animalium uirtutum cum intensione naturalium, bene sponsa in eandem diffinitionem consentiens *ego dormio*, ait, *et cor meum uigilat*. . . . [Cant. v. 2]'.—This definition of sleep occurs in two Salernitan commentaries on the Isagoge of Iohannitius, those of Bartholomeus and Maurus, both of the second half of the twelfth century (MSS. Oxford, C.C.C. 293 B, fo. 92^{r}, and Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 18499, fo. 29^{r}). The ultimate source is Aristotle, De somno, 458 a 26–32. I owe these references to Mrs S. P. Hall.

[3] Balliol College, MS. 24, fo. 65^{r}: 'Inspiciamus et pio uobis inuisceremus affectu, sodales istos sponsi sponseque paranimphos uerbi gratia Gregorium, Augustinum, Ambrosium, nostrique temporis honorabiles sponsi amicos, sponse duces, Bernardum, Guerricum, Ricardum, Gillebertum similesque eorum quos unctio primum docibiles, deinde fecit magistros'. John rarely referred to his authorities, but these cases have been noticed: Gregory, fos. 161^{r}, 187^{v}, 216^{r}, 250^{v}; Augustine, fo. 30^{r}; Anselm, fo. 23^{r}; Ambrose, fo. 14^{r}; Bernard and Gilbert, *cf. supra*; Guerric, fo. 23^{r}. There are no other explicit references to Richard, but his influence on John's ideas was considerable.

[4] About two hours daily; S. Roisin, 'Réflexions sur la culture intellectuelle en nos abbayes cisterciennes médiévales', *Miscellanea Historica . . . L. van der Essen* (1947), p. 248.

[5] J. Leclercq, *L'Amour des Lettres et le Désir de Dieu* (1957), p. 72.

which taught prayer and contemplation, not disputation and abstract thought. But his masters and fellows had lively minds, and must have created an atmosphere in which reading and writing were a natural outcome of the practice of the devout and ascetic life.

The most powerful thinker among the monks at Ford was Baldwin.[1] Older than John in years, he probably joined the order about the same time as he did.[2] His greatest work, the treatise *De Sacramento Altaris*, was written during his fourteen years at Ford (1170–84), as was his other large work *De Commendatione Fidei*, already mentioned, and most of his surviving sermons.[3] These represent a considerable achievement for one who was also busy in the ecclesiastical courts and in making a collection of canon law.[4] They show a man of a capable and thorough, if unadventurous, turn of mind, and gained him a high reputation in his own day among a very wide circle.[5]

Another writer connected with the monastery at this time was Roger of Ford. A Tournai manuscript, which luckily had been catalogued before it was destroyed in the war, contained a collection of his works which he had gathered together to send to a friend Galienus.[6] Some of these were dedicated to a Master Geoffrey, and others to Baldwin, then archdeacon of Totnes. In one of the latter he wrote,

> 'Tu solitus quondam metrum puerile probare;
> Tu mihi materiam, tu mihi thema dare.'[7]

But Baldwin appears in his works not merely as a poetry master but as a theologian, counselling caution when Roger began to

[1] A. Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter* (Cambridge, 1937), pp. 105–107.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 121.

[3] Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, cciv, cols. 401–774. Two unedited sermons are described by P. Guébin, *Journal of Theological Studies*, xiii (1912), pp. 571–74. Another manuscript, Pembroke College, Cambridge, MS. 159, also contains them.

[4] H. E. Lohmann, 'Die Collectio Wigorniensis', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* (*Kan. Abt.*), xxii (1933), p. 53, n. 1.

[5] P. Glorieux, 'Candidats pour la pourpre en 1178', *Mélanges de Science Religieuse*, xi (1954), pp. 17–19.

[6] Tournai, Ville MS. 134; P. Faider and P. Van Sint Jan, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Conservés à Tournai* (Gembloux, 1950), pp. 149–53.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 151.

speculate about the bodily assumption of the Virgin.[1] This close relationship and the knowledge which Roger shows of Bartholomew and of Baldwin's mother[2] make it likely that he can be identified with the 'Roger the poet' who was a member of Bishop Robert Chichester's household at the same time as Baldwin.[3]

His best-known work is an edition of the Visions and *Liber Viarum Dei* of St Elizabeth of Schönau.[4] This he prepared whilst travelling abroad and sent to Baldwin to mark his election as abbot. It is clear from the tone of his preface that Roger had already become a monk at Ford, since he expressed the hope that his fellows would read the works too. Accompanying it he sent some unfinished verses in praise of the Virgin, which he suggested another member of the community, Maurinus, might complete.[5] We do not know whether this was ever done, but a poem on the life and passion of St Thomas can confidently be ascribed to the same man.[6] Another member of the community shared this interest in the cult of the Virgin. William, first abbot of Bindon, collected miracle stories involving her, one of which was told him by John himself.[7] Another one-time member of the house, Alexander of Meaux, who has already been mentioned, was clearly a man of learning, since he gained a reputation as a collector of books.[8]

Such an interest and the existence of this circle of writers must

[1] C. H. Talbot, 'The Verses of Roger of Ford on our Lady', *Collect. Ord. Cist. Ref.*, vi (1939), pp. 44–54.

[2] Ruth J. Dean, 'Elizabeth of Schönau and Roger of Ford,' *Modern Philology*, xli (1944), p. 213.

[3] *The Registers of Walter Bronscombe*, ed. F. C. Hingeston-Randolph (1889), p. 2.

[4] R. J. Dean, *op. cit.*

[5] Talbot, *op. cit.* Dr Talbot pointed out to me that the Tournai MS. contained a letter which he had earlier published as by Roger of Byland, *Analecta S[acri] Ord[inis] Cist[erciensis]*, vii (1951), pp. 218–31.

[6] *Anecdota Bedae, Lanfranci et aliorum*, ed. Giles (Caxton Soc., vii, 1851), pp. 170–87.

[7] Sidney Sussex College, MS. 95, fos. 135^{v} ff., the fourth part of a very large collection, beginning with a prologue ('Magna et innumerabilia . . .'), a story told to William by John of Ford about an abbot of Morimond ('Petis a me, mi Willelme . . .') referred to in the prologue, and then a story about Abbot Walter of Tavistock: found too in Aberdeen University Library, MS. 137, fo. 132, which also refers to William as the author of a collection; M. R. James, *Aberdeen Catalogue* (Cambridge, 1932), p. 45. The Cambridge MS. needs further examination.

[8] *Chron. mon. de Melsa*, i, p. 326.

have encouraged the growth of a good library at Ford itself. Unfortunately it has left few relics, and no catalogue of its contents.[1] The survey made by the Franciscans in the middle of the thirteenth century reveals it as a collection rich in the Fathers and in what might be called 'conservative' theological works of the twelfth century, especially those by Cistercians, and by Hugh and Richard of St-Victor.[2] In this it seems to have resembled other Cistercian libraries.[3]

Placed against this background it becomes a little easier to see why John of Ford thought that he had the resources to follow in the way begun by St Bernard, and why his commentary is what it is. It is not generally novel in interpretation or method, but competent in a traditional way. John was not interested in the study of the text of the Song for its own sake, but, like St Bernard, he sought out the spiritual meaning which he said he pursued through the many doors of allegory opened up by each verse.[4] To him the study of the literal text with the help of Jewish scholarship was anathema: their 'wild and ridiculous interpretation'[5] only dealt with the mere 'husk' of the Word contained in the Bible.[6] He denounced the Jewish understanding of the Bible at such length and with such fire as to make it likely that he was attacking a devotion to it among contemporary Cistercians. The

[1] N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain* (Roy. Hist. Soc., 1941), p. 48. In additional notes kept in the Bodleian Library, he has since added MS. Laud misc. 450. To these a scientific MS. (formerly Phillipps MS. 12145), now in the possession of R. B. Honeyman, Jr., California, can probably be added; W. H. Robinson Ltd., *Catalogue 81* (1950), no. 76.

[2] Professor Mynors and Dr Hunt kindly allowed me to use their manuscript edition.

[3] C. R. Cheney, 'Les bibliothèques cisterciennes en Angleterre au XII^e siècle', *Mélanges Saint Bernard* (Dijon, 1954), pp. 375–82.

[4] Balliol College, MS. 24, fo. 143^r: 'Uerum hesitatio hec, sicut et omnis ferme in scriptura sacra ambiguitas istiusmodi, sacre militat intelligentie. Hesitatio quippe ad plurima pulsat ostia ueritatis, dumque incerta suspenditur, potius intrare debeat ad eam, intrat per singula.'

[5] *Ibid.*, fo. 81^r: 'Ex tunc ergo *contriuit Dominus baculum panis in Ierusalem* [Ezek, iv. 16], quia omnem *panem azimum* sapientum Iesum uos *lactucis uestris agrestibus* [Exod. xii. 8] agresti utique et fatua interpretatione uestra, insipidum uobis redditis et inutilem.'

[6] *Ibid.*, fo. 116^v: 'Et quidem in exteriori hoc uerbi cortile ieiuna satis et arida lectio est, ut ipse, cuius hec tantum est porcio, Israel secundum carnem cum gustauerit non delectetur, et cum comederit non impinguetur ex eo.'

works of Andrew of St-Victor are known to have been in some Cistercian libraries,[1] and it is striking that Andrew's great pupil, Herbert of Bosham, praised the learning of Baldwin,[2] who was suspected by some of his contemporaries of too close a friendship with the Jews.[3] Although John eschewed Hebrew aid, he often followed the interpretation of earlier writers. Bede, the *Glossa*, and Rupert of Deutz all seem to have shaped his understanding of the Song.[4] The influence of the last marks the fact that John followed fashion in giving some place to the interpretation of the Bride as the Virgin.[5] He gave her indeed a greater place than St Bernard or Gilbert, although it was still relatively small.[6]

John also chose the traditional form for his commentary, that of the sermon. There has been considerable discussion recently on whether the sermons of St Bernard on the Canticle were actually preached or not.[7] This lends interest to the question of whether John was merely using the sermon as a literary device. Evidence on this sort of point can rarely be conclusive, but one sermon at least bears obvious proof of its origins as a sermon which John preached. In the middle of the eighth sermon there is a marginal note which reads: 'Thus far follows the version of the sermon in the draft. Now satisfaction is inserted for those who were disturbed by what I said about Jesus receiving a legacy of innocence from his Virgin Mother.' [8] A considerable discussion on this point

[1] Smalley, *op. cit.*, pp. 174, 176–77.

[2] Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, cxc, cols. 1464–65.

[3] *Chron. Universale Anonymi Laudunensis*, *s.a.* 1185 (ed. Cartellieri and Stechele, p. 36). This reference is from the unpublished thesis of Dr E. Rathbone (London, 1936).

[4] For example compare Balliol College, MS. 24, fo. 10^{v}, with Bede, on Cant. v. 9 (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, xci, col. 1161); fo. 179^{r} with *Glossa* on Cant. vii. 7 (*ibid.*, cxiii, col. 1162); fo. 161^{r} with Rupert on Cant. vii. 2 (*ibid.*, clxviii, col. 942).

[5] J. Beumer, 'Die Marianische Deutung des Hohen Liedes in der Frühscholastik', *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie*, lxxvi (1954), pp. 411–39.

[6] Three sermons are largely devoted to her, LXX on Cant. vii. 2, LXXIII on vii. 4, 'Collum tuum', LXXV on vii. 4, 'Oculi tui'; for St Bernard see H. Barré, *Analecta S. Ord. Cist.*, ix (1953), p. 97.

[7] J. Leclercq, 'Recherches... III, Les Sermons sur les Cantiques ont-ils été prononcés?', *Rev. Bén.*, lxv (1955), pp. 71–89; 'Les écrits de Geoffroy d'Auxerre', *ibid.*, lxii (1952), pp. 289 ff.

[8] Balliol College, MS. 24, fo. 22^{v}: 'Hec post editum sermonem, in scedula interposuit satisfacionem quibusdam motis super hoc dicto, uidelicet Iesum hereditariam a matre uirgine accepisse innocentiam.'

then follows in the manuscript, which is brought to an end by a repetition of John's reasons for making it.[1] References elsewhere to contemporary affairs, in 1210,[2] suggest that during the last years of his life John brought together the fruit of many years' preaching on the Song, and put it into its present order. Knowing as we do of the slow gestation of the Life of Wulfric,[3] it is inconceivable that the commentary, which, if printed in the *Patrologia Latina*, would cover about six hundred columns, was produced in a short time.

Such length was indeed noble, but tastes in Biblical scholarship were moving towards shorter *questiones*, and even as a work of devotion John's work has its weaknesses. His argument often rambles whilst his style plods. But his desire to call monks to the contemplative life was as strong as St Bernard's. Although his inspiration faltered, when it came it gave his advocacy power and revealed the real depth of his own experience.[4] It is this, and not the discussion of theological problems with which indeed he was not concerned, which makes the commentary worth reading.

The true stature of his achievement becomes clearer when it is compared with that of his contemporaries among the white monks.[5] Gilbert of Hoyland, the only Biblical commentator of note among them, had almost finished writing before Ailred died, and although he had a vigorous mind, he lacked fervour, compared with John or even more with St Bernard.[6] There were,

[1] *Ibid.*, fo. 23r: 'Hec propterea diffusius dixerim, quod aliquos uestrum in eo uerbo moueri audierim quod Dominum Iesum hereditariam dixi a matre uirgine accepisse innocentiam.'

[2] See *supra*, p. 119.

[3] Bell dated its writing between 'soon after 1180', and 1185 or 1186 (*Wulfric*, pp. xvii ff.), but the reference to a dead abbot as having encouraged John, in the first dedication, puts the beginning back before 1175, since the two abbots known after that date, Baldwin and Robert (II), were still alive when John wrote (*ibid.*, p. 11).

[4] Balliol College, MS. 24, fos. 79v–80r: 'Uidi enim diem Iesu, uidi et gauisus sum . . . Uidi clarificatum in monte, uidi eum facie ad faciem, et salua facta est anima mea.' The sermon XLIII, fos. 103r–105r, is a remarkable autobiographical account.

[5] Knowles, *Monastic Order*, pp. 643–45; C. H. Talbot, 'A List of Cistercian Manuscripts in Great Britain', *Traditio*, viii (1952), pp. 402–18.

[6] Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, clxxxiv, cols. 11–298; *Hist. Litt. de la France*, xii, pp. 461–69; Ohly, *Hohelied-Studien*, pp. 171–78.

however, two hagiographers whose work compares favourably with John's, Walter Daniel and Jocelyn of Furness. The life of Ailred has a secure place among the achievements of the twelfth century, even if it gains more by its subject than its manner. Jocelyn's work is more uneven, but his material was much more varied, and however great are the doubts that can be cast upon his accuracy when writing about Kentigern,[1] Patrick[2] or Helen,[3] his life of Waldef must be judged an accurate and well-drawn portrait. These are the only writers who challenge comparison with John on his own ground. If the field is widened to take in all kinds of literature, no single writer comes up to him in both quality and breadth of achievement.

One writer alone surpasses him in quality, the unknown author of the famous sequence *Dulcis Jesu Memoria*, whom Dom Wilmart has shown almost certainly to be a contemporary English Cistercian.[4] His exquisite verses, so redolent with the imagery of the Song, would stand out in the literature of any age, and it is not surprising that they were soon ascribed to St Bernard. None of the other known poets at Meaux, Combe, Dore, or Rufford,[5] call for particular comment, but Matthew of Rievaulx deserves one for his remarkable sense of style and wide show of classical and patristic learning.[6] Here his only rival is another unknown author, the compiler of the astonishing *Distinctiones monasticae*, which still await their editor and explorer.[7]

[1] K. Jackson, 'The Sources for the Life of St Kentigern', *Studies in The Early British Church*, ed. N. K. Chadwick (Cambridge, 1958), pp. 273–357.

[2] *Acta Sanctorum*, 17 March (March ii), pp. 536–77.

[3] Bodley MS. 240, pp. 801 ff.

[4] *Le 'Jubilus' dit de Saint Bernard* (Rome, 1944), pp. 219–43.

[5] Alan of Meaux, poem on Susanna and the Elders, Brit. Mus., Harley MS. 2851, fos. 2^{r}–9^{v}; Egerton MS. 832, fos. 1^{r}–4^{r}; William, precentor of Combe, hymn on St Thomas, etc., ed. Giles, *Anecdota Bedae*, pp. 191–96; Adam of Dore, probable author of verses on Biblical types and anti-types, extracts ed. M. R. James, 'Pictor in Carmine', *Archaeologia*, xciv (1951), pp. 141–66; Rufford anonymous, verse collection (to which Dr Hunt drew my attention), ed. J. H. Mozley, 'A Collection of Mediaeval Verse', *Medium Ævum*, xi (1942), pp. 1–45, additions by R. W. Hunt, *ibid.*, xvi (1947), pp 6–8.

[6] Wilmart, *Rev. Bén.*, lii (1940), pp. 15–84.

[7] Parts ed. Wilmart, 'Un répertoire d'exégèse composé en Angleterre vers le début du XIII^{e} siècle', *Mémorial Lagrange* (1940), pp. 307–46, and J. B.

All the works already mentioned, with the exception of the sequence, had a restricted circulation, but one type of literature had an enormous success: accounts of visions. Here undoubtedly the most successful work was the Purgatory of St Patrick by Henry of Sawtrey.[1] Like the life of Wulfric it was pillaged by chroniclers, but it was read far more widely in its original form and in versions in French, English and Norwegian.[2] Dr Constable has recently shown that the so-called Visions of Gunthelm often attributed to Peter the Venerable, which also gained extraordinary popularity, should be attributed to an English Cistercian writer of this period.[3]

Among John's fellows there were historians. Ralph of Coggeshall, besides being the author of an interesting Vision,[4] produced a fine Chronicle, which is a unique source for some events of King John's reign.[5] Cistercian history in the north is the main concern of the narratives of Philip of Byland and Hugh of Kirkstall.[6] The annals of Margam, Waverley, and Melrose are likewise more informative on local than national affairs.[7] Most of them are, however, reticent about the interior life of the monasteries of their day, on which John is so revealing. The known and unknown writers of the curious *Miscellanea*, those commonplace books made to help an individual in his prayer and study, have more to

Pitra, *Spicilegium Solesmense*, ii, iii (1852–58). Authorship is discussed by Wilmart, *op. cit.*; Morin, 'Le Cistercien Ralph de Coggeshall et l'auteur des Distinctiones Monasticae', *Rev. Bén.*, xlvii (1935), pp. 348 ff.; and R. W. Hunt, 'Notes on the Distinctiones Monasticae et Morales', *Liber Floridus . . . Paul Lehmann gewidmet*, ed. Bischoff andB rechter (Saint Ottilien, 1950), pp. 355–62.

[1] Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, clxxx, cols. 974–1104.

[2] K. Liestøl, 'Draumkvaede', *Studia Norvegica*, iii (1946), pp. 102–17.

[3] 'The Vision of Gunthelm and other Visions', *Rev. Bén.*, lxvi (1956), pp. 92–114.

[4] Ed. H. L. D. Ward, *Journal of the British Arch. Assoc.*, xxxi (1875), pp. 420–59.

[5] Ed. J. Stevenson, R.S., 1875.

[6] *Monasticon Anglic.*, v, pp. 349–54; ed. J. S. Walbran, *Memorials of Fountains*, i (Surtees Soc., xlii, 1863), pp. 1–129.

[7] Margam, *Ann. Mon.*, i; Waverley, *ibid.*, ii; Melrose, ed. A. O. Anderson and W. C. Dickinson (1936); for the importance of the first for the reign of John, see F. M. Powicke, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xxiv (1909), pp. 659 ff. The annals of Conway (Harley MS. 3725, fos. 38–65) and Stanley (Bodleian Library, Digby MS. 11, fos. 149–87) are unedited.

tell us of this, but interesting though they may be, they do not come up to John's standard.[1]

The attempt to compare his achievement with that of his contemporaries shows very clearly that there was no Cistercian house so rich in writers as Ford, with the possible exception of Rievaulx. This seems to have been largely due to Baldwin. There is no trace of a literary tradition there before his time, but with it appear a circle of writers, of whom at least two, John and Roger, sought inspiration and approval from him.

Turning to this writing as evidence of the life of the order we find that it contains many signs that steadily increasing prosperity was having a weakening effect on thought and action. John lamented the extent to which administrative duties exhausted the energies of abbots and left them with little strength for pastoral direction,[2] besides frequently taking them away from the monastery on litigation or estate business.[3] The fine steeds, 'cloaks of softest wool trimmed and picked out with lamb-skin', which they used on these expeditions, were described in shocked tones by Jocelyn.[4] He also remarked on the way that the monks of his day were inclined to boast about their birth and breeding,[5] and so revealed a sad decline from the standard of equality which had existed at Rievaulx in Ailred's day.[6] John testified to a similar tendency when he ironically reminded his hearers that monks were no better than their servants.[7] A more serious lapse from the paths trodden by their fathers is shown by his acceptance of

[1] C. R. Cheney ('Les bibliothèques cisterciennes . . .', pp. 379 ff.) describes two from Revesby and Rievaulx (Walter Daniel's). To these, Lyell MS. 8, from Fountains, can be added; *Bodleian Library Record*, iii (1950), p. 73. Dr Hunt drew my attention to this volume.

[2] Balliol MS. 24, fo. 200r: 'Uideas plerosque sic totos hodie exisse in agrum, ut non solum animarum fraternarum, set et sue quoque sollicitudinem, ex plurima parte exuisse uideantur . . .'

[3] *Ibid.*, fo. 250v: 'Heu quia non est ei [*i.e. Marie*] tenere, osculari, et ungere pedes Iesu, set auellente sorore sua ad operas exire forenses, litibus seculi immisceri. . . .'

[4] *Life of Waldef*, p. 260.

[5] *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

[6] *Life of Ailred* (ed. Powicke), p. 12.

[7] Balliol College, MS. 24, fo. 202r: 'Nam quia domini uos scitis, et maiores qui recumbitis ab his qui se in ministerium uestrum ordinari pro Deo sustinuerunt, sermo est Domini Iesu, tam ueritate plenus quam humilitate mirabilis. Ait namque, *Ego in medio uestrum sum, sicut qui ministrat* [Luke xxii. 27].'

the ownership of villeins, which was a practice forbidden by statute.[1]

Jocelyn concluded his strictures on display with the words

'So has the gold been dulled, the brightest colour dimmed',[2]

but for all that it is clear that he and others were still convinced that their order was 'the spiritual home of Christ'.[3] Matthew of Rievaulx praised it as gold, finer than silver, which represented the black monks.[4] He, like Roger of Ford and Gilbert of Hoyland, encouraged his friends to join.[5] The ideals of humility, obedience, poverty, and the relationship between work and prayer which they proclaimed were just as high as their predecessors'. This should be remembered and balanced against their own confessions of failure and the criticisms of others, when trying to form a judgement on their life during this period. Three men at least emerge from the literature as worthy upholders of Cistercian standards, Ralph Haget of Fountains,[6] Silvanus of Rievaulx,[7] and John of Ford himself.

These works also clarify the relationship between the Cistercians and the learned world of their day. Professor Powicke has pointed out that Walter Daniel misunderstood Ailred's attitude towards learning,[8] and it is only too easy to do the same if the Cistercians are studied apart from the disputes and problems of their own day and from the demands of their own life.[9] It is true that the reverberations of the careers of Abelard and Gilbert de la Porrée were enormous on the mind of St Bernard, and his alarm at the moral and heretical dangers arising from what seemed to

[1] *Ibid.*, fo. 200v: '*Commoremur in uillis* [Cant. vii. 11], uillanis nostris, si quos habuerimus, nequaquam cum austeritate imperantes et potentia, set quasi Domino reddituri rationem, humiliter eos pieque tractemus.'

[2] *Life of Waldef*, p. 260.

[3] Matthew of Rievaulx, letter to Master H. of Beverley, 'Ordo cistercii munimen egregium, spirituale Christi domicilium', Wilmart, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

[4] *De Albo Ordine et Nigro*, 'Ordo niger est uelud argentum, Cystercius aurum / Et quasi gemma nitens;' *ibid.*, p. 63.

[5] Letter quoted above, and another pp. 40–42; letter to Galienus, *Analecta S. Ord. Cist.*, vii (1951), 218–31; *Epistolae* II, III (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, clxxxiv, cols. 291–98).

[6] Knowles, *Monastic Order*, pp. 357 ff.

[7] Matthew of Rievaulx praises him highly; Wilmart, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

[8] *Life of Ailred*, pp. lxxxiv ff.

[9] Ailred of Rievaulx, *De Anima*, ed. C. H. Talbot (1952), pp. 16–23; S. Roisin, 'Réflexions...', pp. 245–56.

him to be the misapplication of talent transmitted itself to his successors. At the same time, however, they saw a positive value in the liberal arts as an aid in understanding the Bible. Matthew called them the way to this knowledge,[1] whilst Gilbert said he valued them as a way 'to reach those higher and more holy, more inward mysteries of wisdom'.[2] What he and others disparaged was the study of these for their own sake within the monastery. Roger of Ford explained that the monk should cast away problems of rhetoric and logic with unbridled mirth and soft-living.[3] Poetry and the ideas of the philosophers were compared by the author of the *Distinctiones Monasticae* to the villages and towns to which the disciples proposed that Christ should send the hungry people for food, misunderstanding where their true nourishment lay.[4] They could not, of course, divest themselves of all their early experience. The marks of worldly learning can be clearly seen in their love of quoting from classical authors and in their care for style.[5]

The positive side of monastic studies was explained at greatest length by John of Ford, who described the monastery as a school of love in terms derived from the Rule and from the early Cistercians.[6] The virtue above all needed for study there was discretion, and it could be learned most easily from the Bible. There its 'numbers, rules, measures and proportions' could be found,[7] besides the very 'elements' of love itself.[8] The difference between this

[1] *De liberalibus artibus*, 'Hac iter est menti scripturas scire uolenti;' *op. cit.*, p. 62.

[2] *Epistola* II. 2 (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, clxxxiv, col. 291).

[3] Letter to Galienus, *Analecta S. Ord. Cist.*, vii (1951), pp. 228 ff.

[4] Article *Castellum*, ed. Pitra, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 326.

[5] See, for example, Jocelyn's words in the prologues to the *Life of Waldef*, p. 250, and the *Life of Kentigern*, p. 196.

[6] E. Gilson, *The Mystical Theology of St Bernard* (London, 1940), pp. 60–84.

[7] Balliol College, MS. 24, fo. 132^{v}: 'Porro cum adolescentiae et [*fort. recte* '*in*'] studia potiora conuertitur, ibi quoque periculum ei non minimum imminet de nimii indiscretione feruoris. . . . Numeros sane, rationes, mensurasque [*MS. menstruasque*] et proportiones [*i.e. discretionis*] nonnunquam dici legimus in scripturis.'

[8] *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*: 'Iam quoque amoris nonnulla suspiria trahunt et longius adhuc a thalami liminibus excubantes, prima illa secretius secum ruminant elementa caritatis, *Osculetur me osculo oris sui*, itemque, *Concupiuit anima mea desiderare iustificationes tuas in omni tempore*.'

school and worldly schools was to be seen in two things, the complete absence of envy[1] and the mode of its discussions. The model for these last, John explained, was provided by Christ's behaviour in the Temple, who had hidden his wisdom beneath a reverent attitude until he was asked for his opinion.

> 'When you come together in one body', he continued, 'to deal with your Fathers' business, may you always consider something about the good pleasure of that Father, or about the glory of his kingdom; something which builds up morals rouses love and has love's savour. May the questioning about the things of God be put with piety, the reply with gentleness, and both be flavoured with pleasant tasting salt, the salt of grace, as the apostle called it. Finally, may the whole disputation be ended with peaceful and humble words, lest it may happen, which God forbid, that from talking about love, wrath and even indignation may be enflamed.' [2]

Here, described in terms of the practice in the schools, is something very like the discussions which Gilbert pictured taking place at Rievaulx around Ailred, something typical of the very best in Cistercian life.[3] It makes clear the way in which they used their learning and the aim to which it was directed. Statutes about

[1] *Ibid.*, fo. 134[v]: 'In scola caritatis res geritur, ubi inter prima elementa id statim occurrit, ut inuidia omnis cum suorum stridore dentium, transferatur procul in cor maris. . . .'

[2] *Ibid.*, fo. 102[r]: 'Adolescens igitur noster etati huic sue suisque coetaneis propria redditurus insignia, in medio doctorum hinc inde sedentium, ad pedes uidelicet ipsorum, cathedram humilitatis erexit, humili quidem interrogatione sapientiam celans, et uerecundiam profitens, et arrogantie suspicionem deuitans. Prudenti proinde responsione iam quasi aliena pulsatione compulsus, latentem sapientie sue thesaurum ad omnium prodidit admirationem et pie pulsantibus deuotus aperuit, studioseque querentibus benignus occurrit. . . . Quod propterea fratres mei hoc loco in auribus uestris censui memorandum, ut conuenientibus nobis in unum, in hiis que patris [*MS. patres*] nostri sunt exerceamini, aliquid semper in ore uersantes, siue de beneplacito patris illius, siue de gloria regni eius, quod mores edificet, quod caritatem accendat, quod Iesum sapiat. Fiat interrogatio de hiis que Dei sunt cum pietate, fiat responsio in mansuetudine, condiatur utraque sale quodam iocundi saporis, sale gratie, ut ait apostolus; consummetur denique disputatio tota uerbis humillimis atque pacificis, ne forte de materia caritatis ira magis et indignatio, quod absit, inueniat fomitem.'

[3] *Sermones in Cantica*, xli. 4 (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, clxxxiv, col. 217).

the writing of books, the control of the study of canon law[1] and of Hebrew,[2] were all an expression of the attempt made to secure the achievement of this ideal by an order possessed of unique governmental machinery.

Yet as John wrote, the ideals which he and his contemporaries held were assailed by their own practice and by developments in the wider world. Already he lamented that monks were more ready, when they gathered together, to talk about litigation, 'the progeny of bulls, ploughs, . . . and the yields of fields', than 'Jesus and the Songs of Sion',[3] and the way his own mind moved was becoming outmoded. The new Christian philosophy developing in the schools used different techniques to help men love God. They needed an expertise which could hardly be won within the traditional pattern of Cistercian life. Just because these men lived at a time when the streams of Christian experiment were beginning to flow into new channels, their works deserve a greater measure of attention than they have received. They are a fine fruit of the monastic life and a worthy memorial to their order.

[1] C. Bock, 'Les Cisterciens et l'Étude du Droit', *Analecta S. Ord. Cist.*, vii (1951), pp. 3–31.

[2] Canivez, *Statuta* . . ., i, p. 227.

[3] Balliol College, MS. 24, fo. 257r: 'Pudet certe, fratres mei, insulse sermocinationis nostre pruritusque aurium nostrarum, quibus in unum conuenientibus tam rarus de ueritate qui est Christus sermo est, etsi de eo sonuerit, tam molesta auditio. De filiis taurorum et arietum, de terrarum questibus, de agrorum prouentibus, de causarum inuolucris, de uariis denique carnalium necessitatum querelis, de regum etiam ac principum gestis, et si hec uacant, de scurilitatum ineptiis continua prohpudor! interrogatio, narratio, iocundaque auditio est. De Iesu autem et de canticis Syon uerbum satis peregrinum ac nimis familiare silentium.'

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By Professor the Rev. M. D. Knowles, Litt.D., D.Litt., F.B.A., F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S.

READ 10 DECEMBER 1960

GREAT HISTORICAL ENTERPRISES
IV. THE ROLLS SERIES

THE publication of the *Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages*, known familiarly as the Rolls Series, was the outcome of a movement set on foot early in the nineteenth century by Henry Petrie.[1] Petrie (1768–1842), who began life as a dancing master, made himself a learned and zealous antiquary, and acquired a knowledge, unrivalled in his day, of the materials for early English history. He was patronized by the second earl Spencer (1755–1834), then engaged upon the enrichment of Althorp library, and in 1818 a meeting of noblemen and gentlemen was convened at Spencer House to induce the government to support a scheme for printing the early sources of British history. The project was approved by the then prime minister, Lord Liverpool, and took shape in an humble address of the House of Commons

[1] Owing to a dearth of source material little hitherto has been known of the early history of the Rolls Series save what is contained in the *First Report of the Commission on Public Records* (vol. i, 3 parts, H.M.S.O., 1911), especially part 2, pp. 97–98. Recently, however, the Public Record Office documents and correspondence connected with *Chronicles and Memorials* have become available for consultation, and my thanks are due to the late Keeper of the Records, Sir David Evans, for drawing my attention to this. I must also gratefully acknowledge his kindness, and the help of Mr H. C. Johnson, Miss D. H. Gifford and others, in facilitating my research at the Public Record Office. In this lecture I have done no more than scratch the surface; the full story remains to be written. The relevant documents are chiefly contained in the collection P.R.O. 37, where nos. 1–11 are original correspondence, 12–16 the official letterbooks (cited below as L.B.), no. 18 records of payments, and 19–21 the incoming correspondence from editors, arranged in packets alphabetically. Public Records quoted in this lecture, in which Crown Copyright is reserved, are printed by permission of the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

to King George IV (25 July 1822), begging for the publication of manuscript sources of history; as a result of this Petrie, who had been appointed Keeper of Records in the Tower of London in 1819, assembled extracts from various sources for the period before the Norman Conquest, which were published posthumously in 1848 as *Monumenta Historica Britannica*. This was a selective collection, modelled on the *Recueil* of the Maurist Dom Bouquet, which Guizot had continued in France. Petrie's *Monumenta* was inordinately costly, while it failed to give real satisfaction to historians.

Meanwhile a lengthy attempt had been made to assemble, safeguard and publish administrative and other records of the English past, which had long been recognized as constituting a collection without rival in Europe. The effort at first took two directions: the establishment under the Public Record Office Act of 1838 of a great depository, and the inauguration of a series of Record and State Papers Commissions, of which the last expired in 1837, having published *inter alia* an edition of Rymer's *Foedera* and *Statutes of the Realm*, with a selection of *State Papers*. These commissions, also, had been exorbitantly expensive, and could show comparatively little for their outlay of £260,000.[1]

In the fifth decade of the century these two streams of publication, the historical and the record, were united in the person of Thomas Hardy, Petrie's pupil at the Tower, and a diligent editor for the Record Commission. He was already sufficiently well known to be one of those considered for the post of Deputy Keeper of the Records (D.K.), when the Public Record Office came into being in 1838 under the supervision of the Master of the Rolls (M.R.), with a staff of clerks and workers. This establishment owed much to the energy and foresight of Henry Bickersteth, first and only Lord Langdale, who was its first head. Lord Langdale, whose bust confronts every visitor to the search rooms, and who acquired a certain notoriety by his judgment in the *cause célèbre* of Gorham *v.* the Bishop of Exeter, must take an

[1] For all this the *First Report* may serve as a starting-point, especially part 2, pp. 1–17, 26, 75–114. *Cf.* also C. P. Cooper, *An account of the most important Public Records of Great Britain* (Record Commission, 2 vols., 1832). See also the introduction to T. D. Hardy's *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland* (R[olls] S[eries] 1862–71), i, pp. xlvi ff.

honourable place among those who made the period an age of reform.[1] He was assisted with zeal, if not always with discretion, by the first Deputy Keeper, Sir Francis Palgrave. This gentleman, the father of four distinguished sons, one of whom, Professor of Poetry at Oxford, gave us *The Golden Treasury*, while another, in the course of an adventurous career, was in and out of the Society of Jesus, deserves attention in his own right as an early-Victorian servant of Clio.[2] By birth a Jew (his father's name was Cohen), he preceded Disraeli to the waters of baptism and acquired a considerable and varied learning, which he devoted to an energetic campaign for the preservation and publication of records. In later life he was responsible alike for the photo-zincographic reproduction of Domesday Book, and for the engagement of J. S. Brewer, a man of many parts, to edit the Letters and Papers of Henry VIII. Both these enthusiasts had a share in the genesis of the Rolls Series, but the three men to whose efforts its inception was directly due were Sir John (later first Lord) Romilly, who succeeded Langdale at Rolls House (1851–73), T. (later Sir Thomas) Duffus Hardy, who succeeded Palgrave as D.K. (1861–78), and that estimable scholar-antiquarian, Joseph Stevenson.[3]

John Romilly (1802–74), son of Sir Samuel Romilly, statesman and solicitor-general in the 'Ministry of all the talents' (1806), had a distinguished career in parliament, being successively solicitor-general and attorney-general in Lord John Russell's ministry of 1848, and Master of the Rolls. Besides his other activities at the Record Office, he is remembered as having abolished the fees formerly levied upon searchers. His industry, patience, courtesy and good sense are abundantly evident in his correspondence. Thomas Duffus Hardy (1804–78), the son of an army officer, was descended from a Jersey family which had given several distinguished admirals to the Royal Navy. He himself entered the Record Office at the Tower when fifteen years old, and served for many years under Petrie; he became an expert archivist and palaeographer, and edited a series of Close, Patent,

[1] T. D. Hardy, *Memoirs of the life of Henry, Lord Langdale* (1852) and *D.N.B.*

[2] For him and his sons, see *D.N.B.*

[3] For these, see *D.N.B.*, and for Stevenson also the memoir by J. H. Pollen in the *The Month* (May 1895).

Fine, Charter and Liberate Rolls for the Record Commission. He also took a large part in the establishment of the first Historical Manuscripts Commission. Hardy was an authentic, if self-taught, scholar, and his descriptive catalogue of manuscripts, ultimately completed by his brother and C. T. Martin and printed in the Rolls Series, has helped innumerable scholars in the past and has indeed not yet been wholly superseded. His correspondence shows him as a judicious, upright, loyal man, whom all respected, though there are few traces of any warmer feeling. The third of the trio, Joseph Stevenson (1806–95), played many parts in the course of his long life. Born at Berwick and schooled at Durham under James Raine the Elder, he at first prepared himself for the presbyterian ministry, but changed his mind and accepted a post in the British Museum, where he worked upon the edition of Rymer's *Foedera*. He then joined the established church, was ordained and appointed librarian to the dean and chapter of Durham in succession to Raine, but left in 1849 to become the vicar of Leighton Buzzard. There he began a great chronological catalogue of English historical writers and their manuscripts for the Clarendon Press; this was later embodied by Hardy in his *Descriptive Catalogue*. It was at this time, also, that he took his share in the genesis of the Rolls Series. Meanwhile he had begun to feel doubts as to his position as an Anglican and resigned his benefice, accepting soon after employment in the Record Office, and in 1863 was received into the Catholic Church. The Record Office was at the moment having trouble with the Protestant Alliance, and though both Romilly and Hardy supported him, Stevenson was edged out and retired to Birmingham, where he worked for the Historical Manuscripts Commission. When his wife died in 1869 he studied for the priesthood at Oscott and was ordained by Bishop Ullathorne in 1872. In the same year Mr Gladstone, advised by Romilly, Hardy, Brewer and Lord Acton, was broadminded enough to award him a small pension on the civil list, which he used for several years in making transcripts of English documents in the Vatican Library. In 1877 he entered the Society of Jesus, and became an honoured member of that body, continuing his historical studies at Farm Street till his death in 1895.

The number of medieval texts edited or translated by Stevenson in a working life of sixty years was truly remarkable, and others

besides myself may have taken some time to realize that the *Chronica de Mailros* (1835), the *Chronicon de Abingdon* (1858), the *Chronicon Anglicanum* of Ralph of Coggeshall (1875), and the *Life of Jane Dormer* (1887) were all the work of a single writer. Stevenson's letters make up by far the largest of the bundles of T. D. Hardy's correspondence. There was a real warmth of feeling and intimacy between them, and Stevenson was alone in subscribing himself 'yours affectionately' to the D.K. and addressing him as 'old fellow'. The last and one of the most learned of the self-taught editors, he lived on into the age of Stubbs and Tout, and it is to his initiative, in the last resort, that we owe the Rolls Series.

Stevenson, Brewer and Hardy had together in 1848 pressed for the publication of historical sources without effect. On 29 November 1856 the vicar of Leighton Buzzard wrote again, taking the parliamentary report of 1832 as his text. His letter, addressed to the Permanent Under-Secretary of the Treasury, Sir Charles Trevelyan, brother-in-law to Lord Macaulay, suggested that the publication of a series of pre-Reformation sources of English history would be a desirable enterprise. He drew attention to Guizot's activity in France, and that of the Monumentists in Germany and, after noting that Hardy and Brewer were occupied with other important tasks, offered to undertake the work of organizing the series himself.[1]

Trevelyan duly passed the letter to the M.R. Romilly took almost eight weeks to acknowledge it, but his reply, when it came (26 January 1857), was all that could be wished. No doubt the M.R. had taken counsel with Hardy, but his long letter was unmistakably his own.[2] After remarking that England, 'alone amongst Governments of modern civilized nations', had 'taken no steps to produce their historical treasures', he proceeded to discuss at length what should be published, in what manner, by whom, and by whose authority. He then gave an admirable analysis of the various classes of documents and the best way of publication. He set aside Stevenson's offer to edit a representative collection, and recommended the employment of separate editors

[1] P.R.O. 37/12 (*i.e.* L.B. I), pp. 14–20. I give references to the L.B., when available, as being the simplest direction. In many cases the original letters can also be seen in the accompanying bundles.

[2] L.B. I, pp. 21–56.

of texts, to be chosen and invited by the M.R. under the surveillance of the Lords of the Treasury. As for expense, £3000 a year for ten years would, he thought, see the thing through. On 10 February 1857 Trevelyan, on behalf of the Treasury, accepted the scheme almost unchanged and after further discussion Romilly requested Sir Francis Palgrave, D.K., Brewer, Hardy and Stevenson to furnish him with a list of works to be printed.[1]

Palgrave, when asked, could only suggest the Books of the Corporation of London, which contained, so he said, interesting information on every kind of topic, such as the medieval use of oil in painting and the technique of making puff pastry. 'These books', he added, 'should be considered the fore-horse of our team . . . There is no subject (not even those which lend themselves to religious controversy) equally interesting'. Brewer was more practical, and listed some eighty texts, of which a majority duly appeared in the Rolls Series. Hardy, for his part, gave a list of sixty-five works, many of them duplicating Brewer and almost all printed sooner or later in the series. As for Stevenson, he gave a shorter list, agreeing in the main with Brewer and Hardy, but giving emphasis to letters, councils and papal bulls.

At a second meeting of Palgrave, Hardy and Brewer at Rolls House, on 28 February, letters of support and offers of help were ready.[2] Palgrave tended to disagree with his colleagues, and in fact seems to have taken no further part in the enterprise. Brewer's proposals, with additions from Hardy, were considered anew, and a short list drawn up. Within the next fortnight invitations were sent out and offers accepted, and on 15 April a list of the first fourteen volumes was available—a mixed grill, including Brewer's *Adam Marsh*, Luard's *Lives of Edward the Confessor*, J. E. B. Mayor's *Richard of Cirencester*, Gairdner's *Chronicles of Henry VII*, together with some very slow starters and the two volumes of Capgrave by Hingestone that were to be the beginning of sorrows for Romilly.[3] On 1 June the Chancellor and the M.R. agreed on printing 1500 copies, and on 9 June the printing order was taken to the Stationery Office.[4]

We may allow that the M.R. had done a remarkably brisk piece of work. Six months from the receipt of Stevenson's letter he had squared the Exchequer, made all financial and technical arrange-

[1] L.B. I, p. 62.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 74–76.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 100–02.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 112–14.

ments and started up a dozen editors on an ample agreed programme. His biographer tells us that as a judge Romilly was hard-working and expeditious, but that the rapidity of his decision sometimes led to a reversal of his judgments on appeal; he adds that 'perhaps his example of rapid decision was worth more than the cost of his errors'.[1] A similar judgment might be passed on him as director of the *Chronicles and Memorials*, with the additional comment that in all probability no other M.R. of the century would have acted with equal decision and sound sense. The framework established by him was maintained in its main lines to the end, though none of his successors took an active personal share in the work. The sole authority was the M.R. He invited or accepted editors, rejected or approved their choice of material, and gave them 'employment', but each proposal was referred to the Treasury for confirmation, and their Lordships remained always in the background to solve difficulties by an anonymous *non possumus*. The individual editor was given complete freedom and bore sole responsibility, but in practice Romilly and successive D.K.s advised on all technical matters and whipped up the stragglers. The rate of pay to the editors was fixed at £8–8–0 per sheet of sixteen pages, but if smaller type preponderated the rate might rise to £12–12–0. The editor had to bear all expenses, including fees to copyists, but on occasion fees for transcripts of distant MSS. were refunded. The average size of a volume was fixed at 500 pages, including the introduction. The initial grant of £2000 in 1857–58 was raised to £3000 in the following year, and stood at this level till 1867–68, when it fell back to £2000, where it stood till the 'eighties.[2] The whole grant was, however, available for the editors' fees, as the printing costs fell entirely on the Stationery Office.

In early days many offers, desirable and undesirable, reached the M.R. and the D.K., ranging from that of a Welsh printer's compositor, who had bardic qualifications and volunteered to do translations from the Cymric, to that of Sir Thomas Phillipps, who begged for the publication of Pipe Rolls and Feet of Fines, only to be told that the M.R. had no authority to print records.[3]

[1] *D.N.B.*, xlix, p. 187.

[2] P.R.O. 37/18. The figures cited occur on the early pages, which are not numbered. In 1880–81 the grant was still £2000 but it decreased shortly after this date.

[3] L.B. I, p. 81 (27 Feb.).

On 27 March Dr J. A. Giles solicited employment, endeavouring to remove prejudice by the admission that in the past, owing to financial stringency, he had been 'content to transfer many MSS. to print without that [*sic*] minutiae of criticism which Bentley and Porson employed'. He was not, however, engaged.[1] A few days later Hardy received the following letter:

April 1st, 1857 Navestock,
Romford.

My dear Sir,

I have just heard that the government are going to print some of the early English histories—I do not know how far this is correct, but if it is, I am anxious to offer my services as an Editor of any such publications as they may contemplate. I apply to you, as I imagine you are the most likely person to have information on the matter. I am afraid that my never having published anything on the subject and not being known as a student of English history may hinder my being accepted in such a position, but that I cannot help. I was a first class in classics at Oxford in 1848 and Fellow of Trinity College, and have for years devoted myself to this particular study. Would you kindly let me know what is the best thing to do to be accepted, and excuse this hurried note. You may remember me as having bothered you once or twice at the Record Office about bishops.

I am,
Yours very sincerely,
William Stubbs.

The letter-book records that 'Mr Hardy answered this letter and declined Mr Stubbs' proposition'.[2] Stubbs refused to take No for an answer and wrote twice again in subsequent years. On the third occasion Hardy wrote to the M.R.:

This is the third application Mr Stubbs has made for employment, and has not as yet done anything to show that he is competent to edit such works as he has proposed, but it does not follow that he is incompetent. He is generally employed as an assistant to others, and is considered a safe and accurate person.[3]

[1] L.B. II, pp. 98 (27 Mar.), 104 (16 Apr.).
[2] L.B. I, pp. 98 (1 Apr.), 139 (9 Feb. 1858), 142 (17 Feb.); L.B. II, p. 33.
[3] MS. note by T. D. Hardy in P.R.O. 37/61.

The M.R., however, again turned Stubbs down, and it was not till 1862 that he got home on a fourth application. Four years later he was Regius Professor.[1]

The two first volumes appeared in February 1858. One of them, appropriately enough, was Stevenson's *Historia Abbendonensis*, a useful but uncritical piece of work. The other was Capgrave's *Historia de Illustribus Henricis*, edited by the Rev. Mr F. C. Hingeston, and with its publication began what is perhaps the most distressing episode in the history of the series. Hingeston, a young Fellow of Exeter College, had been recommended by Stevenson, and the correspondence shows him visiting Leighton Buzzard as the accepted suitor of Stevenson's eldest daughter, a circumstance that may have affected the elder man's judgment. He was a self-confident, naïve, mercurial young man, and a tireless and copious correspondent. His first assignment, two works of Capgrave, was an easy task with an autograph manuscript in each case. The reviewers, however, were unfavourable and, as Hardy observed, the first volume 'produced general disappointment'. The second was out in November; in it he 'disappointed the world more than in his former work'. He had, it transpired, used Petrie's transcript of the autograph, and had made no attempt to check its many inaccuracies. Nevertheless, he was commissioned to edit a collection of royal and historical letters of the reign of Henry IV, in two volumes.[2] The first duly appeared in 1860, to be received very coolly. The material was badly selected, and Hingeston had taken no trouble to produce a correct text, either of the Latin, the French or the English. A long and painful correspondence with Romilly ensued. Whether or not the editor had hoped to ensure a permanent source of income, the matter selected for publication was so voluminous that one volume covered only six years, and the M.R. pointed out that the undertaking as planned on this scale would run to thirty volumes.[3] Meanwhile Hingeston, on the crest of the wave, had been tactless enough in 1860 to throw over Stevenson's daughter, and

[1] For the circumstances of Stubbs' appointment to the Regius chair, see N. J. Williams, *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, xxxiii (May 1960), pp. 121–25.

[2] L.B. I, pp. 195, 254, 258, 263–64; L.B. II, pp. 91–93. The M.R. had congratulated Hingeston, when the first volume of Capgrave appeared (P.R.O. 37/44, 3 Feb. 1858).

[3] L.B. I, pp. 253–54 (7 Mar. 1860).

the outraged father took it very ill.[1] A long silence followed, and when next heard of Hingeston holds the living of Ringdown near Ivybridge in S. Devon, and is pressing for a payment on account and inviting Hardy to visit him and enjoy the sea-bathing.[2] Meanwhile, on the expectation of plenty, he had pledged some £200 partly to a local builder and partly towards an organ in his church.[3] When at last, on 2 October 1864, the second volume was in type the M.R. himself looked it over and, misliking what he saw, commissioned Riley and Brewer to re-collate the MSS. and check the translation.[4] The result of their work, which is still extant,[5] was decisive. Though Hingeston agreed to make most of the required changes, the sight of the volume, with the editor's modest list of six *errata* followed by sixteen supplementary pages filled to the brim by his critics, to say nothing of the cancellation-marks on sixty-two pages of text, was too much for Romilly, and the volume was suppressed.[6] Eight copies were preserved as a literary curiosity; the rest of the edition was pulped. That was the end of Hingeston's connexion with the Rolls Series, but under the longer version of Hingeston–Randolph his name is kept in memory, if not in benediction, by students of the Exeter episcopal registers.

Meanwhile Romilly had been suffering from Benjamin Thorpe.[7] Thorpe had been among the first to apply for employment, and had

[1] Stevenson's letters in P.R.O. 37/59—(1 May 1858): 'His conduct has proved him base, treacherous and untruthful to a degree which I could not have credited but for proofs too ample and convincing to be disputed'.—(4 May): 'The prevailing feeling of my mind is thankfulness that my child did not become the wife of one who has proved himself so utterly unworthy of her'.—(No date, probably referring to Hingeston): 'I had not seen the marriage of which you speak, and am afraid I could not congratulate the Lady did I know her'.

[2] P.R.O. 37/44. The reference to bathing occurs in a letter of 30 Dec. 1863.

[3] *Ibid.*, letter of 5 Oct. 1864. The organ cost £120.

[4] L.B. II, pp. 287–92 (15 Dec. 1864), 284–85 (17 Nov. 1864).

[5] P.R.O. 37/4.

[6] L.B. II, pp. 287–92. The Public Record Office has a copy of the suppressed volume.

[7] For Thorpe, see the somewhat indulgent article by T. Seccombe in *D.N.B.*, and L.B. I, pp. 147 (7 Mar. 1858), 211, 212–17, 222, 232 (where Romilly goes to the British Museum 'for a couple of hours'); L.B. II, pp. 37–39, 67.

given 'much pain' to the M.R. by blaming Hardy's personal enmity for the rebuff he had suffered. On 6 May 1858 the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle was assigned to him, and a year later the proofs were coming in. Romilly, rendered suspicious by a glance at Petrie's text in the *Monumenta*, wrote to ask Thorpe if he had collated his MSS. Thorpe replied in the negative; he had followed Petrie. This gave Romilly 'very great pain mingled with some apprehension', neither of which emotions was lessened when he collated Thorpe's text with facsimiles of the MS. He therefore stopped the printing (21 April 1860) and a long wrangle ensued between the old and infirm editor and the M.R., who somewhat unreasonably refused to accept any collation of the Cambridge MS. save that of Thorpe himself. In the end thirteen sheets were cancelled and Thorpe mulcted accordingly before the edition appeared—an inferior production, to be replaced within thirty years by the work of Charles Plummer.

While Thorpe was still on the tapis Romilly was at odds with no less a person than the aged Sir Henry Ellis, whose edition of Oxenede abounded in errors of transcription, blunders and misprints of every kind.[1] On this occasion the M.R. himself went down to the Museum and did some collating, as a result of which the volume was cancelled and R. B. Knowles employed to collate the whole work again.[2] This gentleman, then employed by the Record Office, had earned a niche for himself as a playwright and journalist. He subsequently applied for employment as editor, but was rejected by the Lords of the Treasury, who fought shy of 'a gentleman of the Roman Catholic persuasion'. There was a history behind this. The Record Office had recently suffered unwelcome publicity at the hands of the Protestant Alliance. One of its employees, W. B. Turnbull, had become a Catholic and had not only been forced by a press campaign into resignation, but had been pursued by the Protestant Alliance with the accusation of having removed valuable documents of national importance. The Lords of the Treasury, therefore, were taking no chances,

[1] P.R.O. 37/59 (undated letter of Stevenson): 'I cannot tell you how shocked I am with poor old Ellis's book. It is bad beyond credibility, you need to see it in order to understand the amount and grossness of the errors'.

[2] L.B. I, p. 238, and for the cancellation L.B. II, pp. 75-76. The employment of Knowles is not acknowledged on the title-page or in the correspondence, for obvious reasons, but the sum of £193–14–0 'for collation' is credited to him in the Payments Book (P.R.O. 37/18, p. 31 for 1860–61).

but it is pleasant to find both Hardy and Romilly fighting, if vainly, on the side of tolerance and good sense.[1]

These and other lesser troubles of the kind were a source of anxiety at the time, and have permanently impaired the repute of the Rolls Series, but they must not be allowed to obscure the mass of useful and excellent work that was being done. Romilly and Hardy, D.K. since 1861, must be given credit for both energy and financial ability. After less than five years (9 February 1861) the M.R. could report that 28 volumes had already been published, with nine others in the press and four more in progress. Four years later (1 February 1865) 57 volumes were out, and in five years again (7 February 1870) the total had reached 100.[2] All this had been secured well within the limits of the grant. Despite a few fiascos and a number of ill-chosen or poorly executed volumes, several able scholars had become entrenched, among whom were two or three of very high quality. Among these William Stubbs was in a class by himself. During 27 years he edited a dozen important texts accurately and speedily, and as his confidence grew he allowed himself (and was permitted) more and more space in which to discuss his author and his period in essays which rank among his most valuable historical writings.

Others also worked hard and well. H. R. Luard, Fellow of Trinity and Registrary of Cambridge University, was reliable and prolific over thirty years, and besides Hardy himself and Stevenson, Sir F. Madden, J. S. Brewer, James Gairdner, Sir E. Maunde Thompson and Canon J. C. Robertson made sound and useful contributions. The most fruitful years were those in which Hardy was D.K. under Romilly, and one who peruses the letter-books and miscellaneous correspondence of those years comes to admire the industry, just dealing and wisdom of the two men. Neither of them allowed himself or his editors to forget the relationship of 'employed' to employer, sharp reminders were sent out (usually without effect) to laggards, and requests for payments on account or augmentations of the fee often received short shrift, but the advice given was almost always sympathetic and practical. Particularly is this true of Romilly, who took his duties very seriously and was prepared to write courteously and at

[1] For this, see L.B. II, pp. 95–96, 127–29, and article on Turnbull in *D.N.B.* Stevenson's letters contain several references to the episode.

[2] L.B. II, pp. 44, 306; L.B. III, p. 69.

length to editors from his London address and from his Herefordshire home as well as from Rolls House. His successor, Sir George Jessel, was less interested in the work and left most of it to his D.K. When T. D. Hardy died in 1878 he was succeeded by his brother William, who had shared his career and interests, though with a more limited knowledge and a less robust personality. He retired in 1886 and was succeeded by H. C. Maxwell Lyte,[1] who had not previously been on the staff of the Office. Lyte was destined to hold office for forty years, to supervise the building of a great part of the Public Record Office, and to inaugurate a brilliant new period of record publications. He had no great love for the Rolls Series, and was determined to tidy up his inheritance with a new broom. His greatest obstacle was the affair of the Orkney Sagas, perhaps the quaintest of the imbroglios of the Rolls Series. The two actors in this complicated story were Dr (later Sir George) Dasent and Dr G. Vígfússon.

G. Dasent (1817–96) was a more considerable figure than the letters of the D.K. would suggest.[2] A diplomatic connexion at Stockholm in early years had bred in him an interest in Norse literature, which was encouraged by Jacob Grimm, and he rapidly became a leading Scandinavian scholar and the author of numerous translations of the sagas, some of which are still in print. He was also the lifelong friend of John Delane, whose sister he married, and he was for many years assistant-editor of *The Times*, a post which he combined with a chair of English literature and modern history at King's College, London. Gladstone appointed him in 1870 to the Civil Service Commission, of which he later became chief, and in 1876 Disraeli proposed him for knighthood. He was an active member of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, and moved freely in London society, both literary and political.

Gúdbrandr Vígfússon (1828–89),[3] an Icelander by birth, won recognition in Denmark as the first scholar to apply the methods

[1] For Maxwell Lyte, see the biographical sketches by C. Johnson (*Proceedings of the British Academy*, xxxvi (1940)), V. H. Galbraith (*D.N.B.* Supplement, 1931–1940).

[2] See article in *D.N.B.* (First Supplement, vol. ii).

[3] See article by F. York Powell in *D.N.B.* Sir Charles Oman (*Memoirs*, 1941) has a story that Vígfússon used to sit over York Powell in his room until he had completed his daily stint of work.

of modern critical scholarship to the Sagas. At the invitation of Dasent he came to England to complete an Icelandic–English dictionary for the Clarendon Press, and from 1866 till his death lived at Oxford, where he was appointed Reader in Icelandic in 1884.

The Dasent–Vígfússon saga (if the term be allowed) can be constructed from the voluminous correspondence as follows. Dasent was 'engaged' at his own suggestion by Romilly as early as 1859 to edit a collection of sagas with an English translation.[1] After many delays, due to the editor's 'ill-health and other unfortunate causes', the first volume was printed, but Dasent was informed almost immediately by Robert Lowe, then Chancellor of the Exchequer and himself an Icelandic scholar, that a much better MS. existed at Copenhagen. Vígfússon was engaged to collate this, and found it not only better, but far fuller; it was therefore decided to cancel the printed volume (8 May 1877) and replace it by two containing texts by Vígfússon and translations by Dasent.[2] The former accomplished his work speedily, the latter, who alone had a contract with the Treasury, was again dilatory, and Vígfússon feared that he would take both the credit and the fee, if he did not alternatively hold up publication indefinitely. 'The word of an Englishman', the Icelander observed with some bitterness, 'was [once] sufficient to me, young and inexperienced as I was . . . I was blind at the time, and knew England only from books, a dreamland to [*i.e.* compared with] the England I have seen'.[3] This was in July 1879; Dasent, for his part, complained that Vígfússon refused to complete his short introduction, and William Hardy got no further with the two collaborators, each straining at the leash while waiting for the other.

When Maxwell Lyte succeeded Hardy he broke light-heartedly into the fray. When could Dasent get his piece done? Dasent, pleading an 'accident last autumn' (it was now May 1886) promised speedy satisfaction,[4] and the D.K. turned to Vígfússon, who now had in his pupil Frederick York Powell a loyal ally who could write better English and a clearer hand than the master.

[1] L.B. I, pp. 210–11.
[2] L.B. III, pp. 242–43, 261–63, 294–97, 313, 321–28, 335–41.
[3] L.B. IV, p. 33; P.R.O. 37/19.
[4] L.B. V, p. 22 and P.R.O. 37/26.

Vígfússon promised his missing pages, provided that the two volumes of text should appear in his name if Dasent prevaricated. Dasent, who had recently 'been made distracted by politics' [1] (and no wonder in 1886!), once more promised speedy execution, but a few days later was placed by Gladstone at the head of the Civil Service Commission and could, as the phrase goes, 'sit pretty', writing on 14 August that he is 'sorry to say that my working power has been much hindered by illness in my family, which I grieve to say has now ended in death.' On 19 April 1887 Leonard Lyell, at the demand of a constituent, asked in the House what had become of the Orkney Saga. He was given the normal soothing answer,[2] but Maxwell Lyte, who had received nothing from either party, was complaining that 'each of them [Dasent and Vígfússon] has his own version of the matter, and I do not know, or wish to know, which version is correct'. W. L. Jackson of the Treasury now took a hand and visited Sir George, who was prodigal of promise, but wrote on 14 June 1887 that his 'powers for work of this nature have been very much crippled by the alarming illness' of a colleague. 'I hope', he added, 'it is no secret at the Treasury that the duties of this Commission are no sinecure, and that they cannot be neglected without grave injury to the Public Service'. On which Maxwell Lyte commented with acidity: 'that Civil Servants entrusted with the editing of any of our Chronicles are required to do any such work' out of office hours, and he remarked upon 'the large amount of public money [some £1200] which he [Dasent] has received for work which he has not done'.[3] No doubt the D.K. could appreciate the pensive remark of Vígfússon: 'How the time speeds away! Since 1859 twenty-eight years have ebbed away'.[4] In any case, he published the texts alone under Vígfússon's name in 1887. In March 1888 the Treasury is once more asking for news of the translations, and Maxwell Lyte is of opinion that 'Sir George Dasent has not touched the work for many years, and that he has no serious intention of ever touching it again'.[5] He adds: 'three Members of Parliament are, I believe, threatening questions about the Sagas'. This stirred the Treasury to a fresh protest (11 April) which

[1] P.R.O. 37/26.

[2] L.B. V, pp. 169, 174.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 201–02. Dasent had in fact done much of the work; it was his misfortune that it had been rendered useless by subsequent discoveries.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 190–91.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 276–77.

found Sir George 'in great grief and trouble at the death of my brother', and unable to attend to business.[1] Finally, at the end of 1889, Maxwell Lyte, remarking that 'there is a limit to my patience and that limit is almost reached', suggested that 'failing gentler methods' the matter should be brought before the Auditor-General, thus causing Dasent to be 'cited before the Committee of Public Accounts' for embezzling public funds.[2] Within a few weeks of this Dasent sent in his introduction and index. In the following year his house and library were destroyed by fire; one feels more than ordinary sympathy with him in a calamity which only a year earlier would have provided him with a cast-iron excuse with which to silence his tormentors.

Dasent was not the only *damnosa hereditas* left to Lyte by the Hardy brothers. He had also on his hands that prince of feckless and exasperating scholars, F. J. Furnivall. Furnivall (1825–1910),[3] whose father, a physician, was said to have acquired a fortune of £250,000 from a private lunatic asylum, had lost his share of the inheritance with the failure of Gurney's bank in 1867, and was for the rest of his life in straitened circumstances, which did nothing to abate his energy or his resilience. A militant pagan and social reformer, a brilliant Old English and Shakespearian scholar with a wide and varied knowledge of literature, irrepressible, combative and at times guilty of faults against good taste and manners, he was by no means ineffective, and called forth much good work from others; he has a secure place in the history of English scholarship as the founder of the Early English Text Society. He also founded the Ballad Society, the Wyclif Society, the Browning Society and the Shelley Society, while in another sphere he was the father of the National Amateur Rowing Society and the Hammersmith Sculling Club for men and women. He became one of the original Fellows of the British Academy. With such a man to handle one cannot but feel that Maxwell Lyte allowed himself to make heavy weather of an unimportant matter, and one suspects that Furnivall took an impish delight in twisting the lion's tail.

Furnivall had had the *Chronicle* of Robert of Brunne on his plate since 1860, complete now save for a short introduction. As early as 1877 T. D. Hardy had called his attention to 'the promises

[1] L.B. V, p. 281. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 504–06 (27 Nov. 1889).
[3] *D.N.B.*

you have made on the [six following] dates (which you have not fulfilled)'.[1] Nine years later Maxwell Lyte, then heavily engaged with Dasent, opened hostilities on another front, threatening to publish the chronicle without an introduction if one were not forthcoming by 2 August. Furnivall returned the following soft answer:

8. vii. 1886.

My dear Sir,

All that you say of my failure to turn out Robert de Brunne's Chronicle is, alas, too true, but there is no hope whatever of my being able to complete the introduction by August 2. Just now I am good for nothing but a scull on the river, or a ride on a bicycle and marking a Shakespeare Quarto. But I'll take B.R. with me to a quiet village on the Yorkshire moors on July 20. . . . If by September 2 you can get nothing from me, then the book can go out as it is.

To this Lyte replied: 'I venture to think that this work undertaken by you for Her Majesty's Government many years ago should have precedence of all other literary studies, however interesting and attractive'.[2] Needless to say, 2 September passed without incident, but on the 15th Furnivall wrote: 'I took all my books to Yorkshire, but never opened them. Lawn tennis, cricket, walks, picnics, getting up a Concert and Dances occupied all the holiday. Then since my return there's been the practice for our Sculling Fours race next Saturday, the arrangements for getting a Sculling Eight next season, &c.' He added, as a Trinity Hall oar to an Etonian: 'If you're an old rowing man, you should come and have a paddle in one of our Sculling Fours'.[3]

A fortnight later (1 October) another missive came. 'A disaster has befallen me. I've lost my working copy of Robert of Brunne with my half-written introduction and Mr Sweet's notes. It's an awful blow'. Then to sugar the pill he added: 'But there was one consolation. Yesterday I was told of a Clasper Eight, a £60 used only one season, to be sold for £16, out of which we can probably make a second racing Sculling Eight'.[4] Unmoved by the attractions of the river Lyte riposted (23 December 1886) that if nothing

[1] L.B. III, pp. 316–17.
[2] L.B. V, p. 63; P.R.O. 37/30.
[3] P.R.O. 37/30.
[4] L.B. V, pp. 89–90. Clasper was a well-known oarsman and boat-builder.

were forthcoming: 'it will be with their Lordships [*sc.* of the Treasury] to decide whether you are still entitled to a Civil List Pension for literary services.' Furnivall answered the same day: 'Surely the threat about my Pension is unworthy of you. The Pension was given me by Mr Gladstone for work quite independent of Robert of Brunne, and I think he'd be willing to justify his grant'. Unshaken, the D.K. replied on Christmas Eve: 'I mentioned your pension, because it is not unlikely that the Lords of the Treasury may consider, as I certainly consider, that the recipient of a yearly allowance from the Civil List should be, of all persons, the last to neglect a plain duty to Her Majesty's Government'.[1] On Boxing Day Furnivall promised to do his piece; he added to his letter a P.S.; 'Had a glorious scull in a wager boat on Xmas morning. River beautiful'.[2] Six months later (22 June 1887) the introduction was sent with this note:

> My dear Sir,
> I send this at last. I have been in the country and learning to swim and sculling.
>
> Yours very truly,
> F. J. F.[3]

Dilatory editors were not the only source of trouble to the D.K. The title of the series, *Chronicles . . . of Great Britain and Ireland*, was a challenge to patriots in the north and west. As early as March 1857, J. D'Alton was demanding the inclusion of Irish material,[4] and in 1858 Romilly accepted the Rev. Williams ap Ithel as editor of the *Brut* and *Annales Cambriae*,[5] but the work was not well done. Scotland liquidated her claims by securing £1000 for herself out of the grant to the Record Office.[6] Irish scholars kept up a dropping fire of complaints, though several Irish volumes of no very great significance were in fact published from time to time. At last, in the roaring 'eighties, a lively campaign was launched with a long letter in *The Times* (July 1887) from Dr Stokes, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in T.C.D. This was followed by a question from Macneill in the

[1] L.B. V, pp. 106–09. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 110–11.
[3] P.R.O. 37/30. This letter would seem to contradict the assertion in the *D.N.B.* that Furnivall never learnt to swim.
[4] L.B. I, p. 90. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 155. This was as early as 1867–68.
[6] L.B. IV, p. 183.

House, and on 8 August John Dillon, supported by T. P. O'Connor, asked for further explanation for the neglect of Ireland. 'There must', he said, 'be some corrupt influences at work'.[1] Though the D.K. was able to prove to the minister that the complaint had no foundation, the Treasury duly authorized expenditure for one year sufficient to cover the cost of one volume, and the result was *The Cartulary of St Thomas, Dublin*, edited by J. T. Gilbert.

I have glanced at some length at these unfamiliar episodes in the archives of the Rolls Series. Others have been public property for years. The inadequacy of Sir Travers Twiss, Q.C., was exposed long ago by Stubbs and Maitland, and the stories of two of the latest additions, the one being Maitland's own *Memoranda de parliamento* and the other Hubert Hall's *Red Book of the Exchequer*, are already partly in print.[2] Maitland's volume is perhaps the most notable of the whole series, while the controversy between Hall and Horace Round is one of the classic pieces of modern historical criticism. You will scarcely expect me to retail it here, if only because Hubert Hall was for many years the well-loved Literary Director of our Society.

The publication of the *Chronicles and Memorials* continued from 1858 to 1911, or fifty-four financial years, during which 253 volumes were issued.[3] Production, however, after reaching totals of 87, 61, and 62 in the three first decades, declined sharply and in the last twenty years only twenty volumes were published. In fact, Maxwell Lyte has recorded that in his day (*i.e.* from 1886 onwards) only one volume, that of Maitland, was commissioned,[4] while after 1898 the only editor to remain in production was L. O. Pike with his series of Year Books. While the origins of

[1] L.B. V, pp. 204, 214, 222.

[2] For Maitland, see the introduction by Professor Helen Cam in *Selected Essays of F. W. Maitland* (Cambridge, 1957), pp. xxiv–xxvi. The Hall-Round affair gave birth to a small literature of reviews (including Round's notorious notice in *The Athenaeum*), pamphlets and letters, some of which are in the London University Library.

[3] For statistics, see *First Report*, i, part 2, p. 75. The total number of volumes is there given as 252, with another still to come in 1911. On p. 98a the total is given as 254. On my calculation 250 volumes (excluding those subsequently cancelled) were issued, but three of these were bound in two parts.

[4] *First Report*, i, part 2, p. 98b, referring to minutes of evidence; *ibid.*, i, part 3, Q. 545 (p. 21b).

the Rolls Series are clear, the immediate and direct cause of its demise are uncertain. Even the official account admits to ignorance on this point. Maxwell Lyte has told us that it was in a decline before he became D.K. 'When I took office', he said, 'the *Chronicles and Memorials* were, I may say, in very low water'.[1] He had, in fact, stated in his first *Report* that 'the material reduction in the amount allotted for Calendars and Historical Documents has prevented the undertaking of any fresh work during the past year'.[2] In a letter of 1887 he is more specific: 'No fresh work whatever has been undertaken for the series since March 1885, and the successive reductions in the Subhead for Calendars and Historical Documents (the latest being in the current financial year) preclude the idea of undertaking any for the present'. He wrote again in the same year: 'the whole fate of the Rolls Series is precarious'.[3] We can in fact watch the grant diminishing in the annual estimates. By 1891 it had fallen to £1150 and in 1892 to £750. Thenceforward it did no more than service the outstanding volumes already accepted. What lay behind the decision does not appear. No doubt the lack of enthusiasm on the part of Sir George Jessel, M.R., and his successor W. B. Brett (later Lord Esher) before 1886, and the subsequent desire of Maxwell Lyte to publish record material, were contributory causes, nor must we forget that a heavy building programme was being financed at the Record Office in the early 'nineties. Nevertheless a suspicion remains that someone, somewhere, in the early 'eighties or before, had resolved upon the demise of the series.

The printing cost of the normal volume had originally been estimated at £232.[4] This, especially after the original half-leather binding had been replaced by the cloth format stigmatized by Maxwell Lyte as 'abominable',[5] proved far too cautious, and save in exceptional cases the normal cost of a volume of 500 pages was about £110. On the other hand, Romilly had been optimistic in demanding a printing of 1500, and the more realistic figure of 750 was soon the rule. With initial sales running at about 200 *plus*, there were still copies to spare, and William Hardy began the distribution of sets to reputable libraries, with the stipulation,

[1] *First Report*, i, part 3, Q. 539 (p. 21a).
[2] *Ibid.*, i, part 2, p. 98a, and *Deputy Keeper's 48th Report*, p. xvii.
[3] L.B. V, 270.
[4] L.B. I, p. 135.
[5] *First Report*, i, part 3, QQ. 537–38 (p. 21a); *cf.* also Q. 797 (p. 61b).

rarely honoured, that they should be returned if the collection were dispersed. Sales, indeed, long remained pitifully low, but within the present century, with the multiplication of public libraries and of expert teachers and research workers in history, a new market has grown up for the texts, and almost all the useful ones are out of print.

The volumes, irrespective of size, were sold originally for 8/6, later 10/–. The actual cost of printing varied from 2/6 to 7/0, so that even after overheads and the commission to Longmans had been added there was a margin of profit for direct sales. A semi-official estimate of the costs and receipts up to 1901 gives the total cost of publication as £127,000, of which three-fifths (£75,000) went in editorial fees and two-fifths (£50,000) in printing and publication.[1] Within the same period the number of copies sold was 59,046 which, even with allowance for free copies, was considerably less than half the number printed. Allowing for the price (8/6) in early years, this would give a gross receipt of some £28,500. As the Exchequer grant had totalled £67,000 by 1880–1881, the funds available, even when the grant fell to a token in the 'nineties, would have covered the editorial costs with a comfortable margin, while on the sales account the Stationery Office may have been by 1901 some £25,000 in the red. The total cost to the nation must therefore have been at that date some £100,000. Subsequent sales will have somewhat reduced this figure.

To the student of the accounts perhaps the greatest surprise comes from the sums paid to the editors.[2] A rough calculation shows Stubbs, with nineteen volumes to his credit, as the highest scorer, with receipts of about £6600, but H. T. Riley with £6487 for fifteen volumes, and H. R. Luard with £6432 for seventeen, run him close. When one allows for the depreciation of the pound since 1914, and the virtual absence of taxation (income tax stood at *6d.* during most of Stubbs' earning years), these sums would each in purchasing power equal at least £24,000 net of our currency. Such gains must arouse mixed feelings in past and present editors of our Camdens. Moreover, many of the editors had, or allowed themselves to have, a very light task, with only one or two clearly written MSS. to collate, and no chronological or other problems to unravel in the notes. Lumley with his nine volumes of Higden

[1] See table in *First Report*, i, part 2, pp. 85–87.

[2] These figures are derived from the accounts in P.R.O. 37/18.

(beginning at the Creation), Luard with his Matthew Paris, and above all Pike with his fourteen volumes of Year Books had found steady, unexacting and secure sources of revenue for a long spell of years. No wonder that some of the grossly underpaid clerks at the Record Office took every opportunity to get in on the ground floor, and that subsequent critics have, without justification, regarded the Rolls Series as a scheme of 'jobs for the boys'.

The Rolls Series has come in for a great deal of adverse criticism ever since the two first volumes were published. It was indeed from the beginning an extraordinarily inexpert affair. It depended in origin and throughout the great productive decades almost entirely upon two men, the one an enlightened and energetic amateur, the other an archivist of great ability with an unrivalled knowledge of the main manuscript resources of the country, but without either a wide knowledge of history or the technical skills of an editor such as were possessed in his day by Georg Waitz, Philipp Jaffé, and other disciples of Ranke in Germany, and by Léopold Delisle and others in France. Indeed, the amateur status of many of the editors is only too patent, and it seems wellnigh incredible that they should have had the hardihood to attempt, without any training, to exercise the critical technique which the seminars in Germany and the École des Chartes at Paris were even then bringing to perfection.

Looking back on the enterprise after a hundred years, it would appear that it had from birth two radical faults. Firstly, it was concerned with work wholly outside the statutory province of the Record Office. It was no business of the M.R. and D.K. to supervise editions of works not contained in their own records, and executed by editors who had no connexion with the Office or who, if they had, worked out of office hours. Moreover, the series absorbed funds which might otherwise have gone to record publications, and in the event the final cause of the burial of the Rolls Series was probably the decision of Maxwell Lyte to publish calendars, lists and indexes on the grand scale. Secondly, there was no editorial organization of the kind that had already become necessary to guarantee the selection and scholarly editing of texts and, once Romilly had gone, there was nobody with authority or interest to give encouragement and coherence to the scheme over a long period of years. The contemporary emergence of history

as a foremost academic discipline made it certain that any such undertaking in the future must be directed by trained professional historians, but no attempt was made to bring in scholars such as Stubbs or Maitland in an advisory capacity. The unfortunate relationship of government employer to official employee, which was unconsciously fostered by Romilly and the two Hardys, and gave an unreal and slightly ludicrous tone to some of the correspondence, stood in the way of coöperation, and Maxwell Lyte did nothing to change it. A wider range of experience and counsel would have prevented some of the fiascos and eliminated the unedifying wrangles. Doubtless some of the editors were dilatory and difficult, but coöperative and serial undertakings in our own day have taken a long time to complete without giving rise to quarrels and scandals, and one feels that Sir George Clark, to take an eminent editorial name of today, has known how to ride a horse on the snaffle when a tight rein might have caused accidents.

Nevertheless, when all has been said, the Rolls Series has justified many of the fair hopes of Romilly and Duffus Hardy. Who, among English medievalists of the past seventy years, could have done without it, or would have wished it away? Who will suggest that, had it never come into being, we should even by 1960 have better editions of all the more significant works? And without all these texts it is difficult to see how the great revolution in academic history, which has sprung primarily from medieval constitutional and institutional history, could ever have taken place. That revolution is forever associated with the name of William Stubbs, and it was as editor of the Rolls volumes that Stubbs prepared for himself and for others the tools of the trade.

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

REPORT OF COUNCIL. SESSION 1959–60

THE Council of the Royal Historical Society have the honour of presenting the Annual Report to the Anniversary Meeting as follows:

The revision of the *Handbook of British Chronology* has been completed after several years of labour by its editors and contributors. The estimated cost of publication is heavy, and unless the Society is successful in obtaining assistance from an outside source, will of necessity reduce the number of volumes issued in the *Camden Series*. Grants have been made by the Marc Fitch Fund and by the University of Sheffield in aid of the publication of Dr. Batho's edition of *The household papers of Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland.*

The collection of material for *Writings on British History, 1901–1933* has been completed and substantial progress has been made in preparing it for press. The sum in sterling produced by the allocation of $24,000 from the grant made by the Ford Foundation in 1956 has, with the inclusion of bank interest, amounted to £8,866. 1s. 0d. It is estimated that it will have been expended by 30 September, 1960, and that some six to nine months' more work will be needed to complete the undertaking. In these circumstances the Society has received from a private source a further grant of the sum of £600.

Work on the *Bibliographies of British History* is proceeding under the direction of the joint Anglo-American Committee. Godfrey Davies, the editor of the *Bibliography of British History; Stuart Period, 1603–1714*, died in 1957. He had, however, agreed that the preparation of a revised edition should be entrusted to other hands, and Dean Mary F. Keeler, of Hood College, Maryland, is now engaged on that task, in which she has already made substantial progress. In 1958, Mr. I. R. Christie and Mr. A. J. Taylor, of University College, London, were appointed to edit the volume covering the years 1789 to 1851; and Mr. H. J. Hanham, of the Department of Government,

University of Manchester, has now been appointed editor of the volume covering the years 1851 to 1914.

The Society has added the President and Sir Goronwy Edwards to its representatives on the Anglo-American Committee charged with the production of a new edition of Gross, *Sources and Literature of English History from the earliest times to about 1485*. That Committee was established in 1937 by the joint action of the Society and the Mediaeval Academy of America, upon the initiative of Sir Maurice Powicke. It consisted originally of W. E. Lunt (Chairman and Editor), N. S. B. Gras, Professor C. H. McIlwain, Sir Maurice Powicke and Sir Frank Stenton. In 1956, Professor W. H. Dunham, jr., and Sidney Painter were added to the Committee, and Professor Edgar B. Graves took the place of Lunt as chairman and editor. Both Gras and Lunt died in the autumn of 1956, and Sidney Painter died in January, 1960. The Committee accordingly now consists of Professor E. B. Graves, Professor W. H. Dunham, jr., Professor C. H. McIlwain, Sir Goronwy Edwards, Professor the Rev. M. D. Knowles, Sir Maurice Powicke and Sir Frank Stenton.

The representation of the Society upon various bodies during the session was as follows: Professor W. Rees on the National Co-operating Body for the Social Sciences (for the purposes of Unesco); Sir Goronwy Edwards (with T. F. Reddaway as his deputy) on the Advisory Council on the Export of Works of Art; Professor Margaret Deanesly, Professor A. Goodwin and Professor May McKisack on the British National Committee of the International Historical Congress; Sir Goronwy Edwards on the Council of the British Records Association; T. F. Reddaway on the Standing Conference for Local History; Professor V. H. Galbraith on the Advisory Committee appointed by the Minister of Town and Country Planning to supervise the listing of buildings of special architectural and historical interest; Professor W. N. Medlicott on the Committee to advise the publishers of the *Annual Register*; P. Grierson on a committee to regulate British co-operation in the preparation of a new *Repertory of Medieval Sources* to replace Potthast's *Bibliotheca Historica Medii Aevi*, and on a committee to promote the publication of photographic records of the more significant collections of English

coins. Professor W. N. Medlicott continues to represent the Society on the Court of the University of Exeter.

Transactions, *Fifth Series*, Volume 10, was issued during the session. *The diurnal of Thomas Rugg*, edited by Professor W. L. Sachse (*Camden Series*), and the revised edition of the *Handbook of British Chronology*, by Sir Maurice Powicke and Dr. E. B. Fryde (*Guides and Handbooks*), have been sent to the press. The *Liber Eliensis*, edited by Dr. E. O. Blake (*Camden Series*), will also be sent to the press in the near future. Council have provisionally accepted for future publication in the *Camden Series*: *The household papers of Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland, 1564–1632*, to be edited by Dr. G. R. Batho, and *The private papers of Richard Wood, Agent of the British Ambassador to Turkey, 1833–1841*, to be edited by Dr. A. B. Cunningham. *Writings on British History, 1940–1945*, in two volumes, was published by Messrs. Jonathan Cape in January, 1960.

The following papers were read during the session 1959–60:

'Edward I and the proposed purchase of English law for the Irish *c.* 1276–80.' By Professor the Rev. Aubrey Gwynn. (10 October, 1959.)

'The colonization of Rhodes by the Knights of St. John.' By Professor L. H. Butler. (14 November, 1959.)

'War plans and diplomacy in the United States, 1890–1917.' By Dr. J. A. S. Grenville. (9 January, 1960.)

'Philip II and the Papacy.' By J. Lynch. (13 February, 1960.)

'Les Cahorsins, hommes d'affaires Français du XIIIe siècle.' By Professor Yves Renouard. (12 March, 1960.)

'The development of the European states system since the eighteenth century.' By F. H. Hinsley. (14 May, 1960.)

The President, Professor the Rev. M. D. Knowles, delivered an address at the Anniversary Meeting on 12 December, 1959, on 'Great historical enterprises—III. The *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*.' The Alexander Prize was awarded to Dr. Gwyn A. Williams for his essay on 'London and Edward I'. The essay was read at the meeting on 11 June, 1960. A *proxime accessit* was awarded to H. Parris for his essay on 'Railway policy in Peel's administration, 1841–1846'. The annual garden party was held on 9 July, 1960.

At the Anniversary Meeting on 12 December, 1959, the Vice-Presidents retiring under By-law XVII were P. Grierson and

Professor R. A. Humphreys. W. A. Pantin and Professor Dame Lillian Penson were elected to fill the vacancies. The members of Council retiring under By-law XVII were Professor J. S. Roskell, Dr. B. Schofield, R. W. Southern and Professor C. N. L. Brooke. Professor A. G. Dickens, Professor A. Goodwin, Dr. F. E. Harmer and Professor J. H. Le Patourel were elected to fill the vacancies. Messrs. C. Ryland Beeby, Harmar & Co. were appointed auditors for the year 1959–60. In March, the Hon. Secretary, Alun Davies, was compelled through illness to relinquish his work for several months. His place was taken by Professor H. Hale Bellot, and Council wish to place on record their warm appreciation of his ready assistance to the Society at a time of need.

Council record with regret the deaths of 17 Fellows, 2 Associates and 3 Corresponding Members. Among these, Council would mention especially the Earl of Ilchester, an Honorary Vice-President since 1906, Dr. G. Lefebvre, a Corresponding Member since 1951, Dr. Conyers Read, a Fellow who had also, since 1951, been a Corresponding Member, and Professor J. Vicens Vives, a Corresponding Member since 1957. 5 Fellows have resigned. 2 Fellows have been removed from the Roll and 1 Subscribing Library from the list. 26 Fellows and 8 Associates have been elected and 27 Subscribing Libraries have been admitted. 5 Fellows have been re-instated and 1 Library has been re-admitted. 7 Associates have been elected to the Fellowship. The membership of the Society on 30 June, 1960, was 758 Fellows, 34 Corresponding Members, and 102 Associates (744, 37 and 103 respectively on 30 June, 1959). Of the Fellows, 218 were life members. The Subscribing Libraries numbered 472 (445 on 30 June, 1959). 20 Societies, British and foreign, exchanged their publications with the Society.

The Treasurer reports that the income of the Society for the year 1 July, 1959, to 30 June, 1960, exceeded the expenditure chargeable against it by £567. 6s. 3d. This surplus has been allocated to Publications. The sum of £2,872. 6s. 3d. has thus been granted for publications as against £2,407. 14s. 9d. in the previous year, making, with the addition of the proceeds of sales, an allocation to the Publication Fund of £3,593. 18s. 9d., compared with £3,243. 9s. 8d.

I.—Income and Expenditure Account for the Year ended 30 June 1960

Dr. *Cr.*

1959	*Expenditure*	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
£	**Establishment Expenses**		
180	Rent—96 Cheyne Walk	£180 0 0	
112	Rates	111 6 8	
47	Insurances, *less* Commission	45 19 2	
13	Repairs	12 6 4	
54	Wages	50 0 0	
24	Extra Service and Cleaning	20 2 4	
47	Lighting and Heating	33 16 0	
17	National Insurance	17 1 3	
10	Catering	11 4 0	
18	Anniversary Meeting Expenses	18 0 0	
7	Sundries	3 15 7	
529			503 11 4
	Secretarial and Administrative Expenses		
600	Salary	600 0 0	
60	Superannuation	60 0 0	
268	Assistant Secretary's Salary	275 0 0	
36	National Insurance	36 12 0	
128	General Printing and Stationery (*less* Sales of Official Pamphlet)	190 15 3	
47	Accountancy and Audit	47 5 0	
70	Postages	74 4 1	
20	Telephone	20 17 7	
20	Sundries	32 13 8	
1,249			1,337 7 7
	Other Charges		
6	Alexander Prize Medal and Expenses	6 10 0	
1	Friends of National Libraries	1 1 0	
1	British Records Association	1 0 0	
16	British National Committee of the International Congress of Historical Sciences	15 15 0	
19	Fee in connexion with Renewal of Lease	— — —	
43			24 6 0
140	**Library**—Grant		140 0 0
75	**Contingencies Reserve Fund**—Grant		— — —
	Publications		
125	Director's Honorarium—One Quarter	31 5 0	
75	Other Secretarial Expenses	75 0 0	
	Publications Account:		
2,050	Grant	2,305 0 0	
836	Proceeds from Sales (*per contra*) transferred	721 12 6	
350	Writings on British History—Grant	350 0 0	
3,456			3,482 17 6
358	**Balance**, being Excess of Income over Expenditure for the year transferred as a further grant for Publications		567 6 3
£5,830			£6,055 8 8

1959	*Income*	£ s. d	£ s. d
£	**Subscriptions**		
	Received for 1960:		
161	Associates	£161 6 11	
1,440	Libraries	1,534 8 6	
2,112	Fellows	2,121 5 8	
3,713			3,817 1 1
105	Arrears of Subscriptions received		142 3 1
	Interest and Dividends		
399	From General Investments	491 18 9	
726	From Sir George W. Prothero Bequest	810 14 7	
30	Bank Interest	50 19 2	
1,155			1,353, 12 6
	Royalties		
21	From Sir George W. Prothero Bequest		20 19 6
836	**Sales of Publications**		721 12 6
£5,830			£6,055 8 8

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

II.—Balance Sheet 30 June 1960

1959		£ s. d.	1959		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
£	**Funds**		£	**Investments**		
24,535	Balance at 30th June 1960 as per Account III	27,796 7 4	6,967	General Account . . £7,565 17 0 (Market Value at 30th June 1960, £15,014 2s. 9d.)		
			17,157	Sir George W. Prothero Bequest . . . 17,157 7 2 (Market Value at 30th June 1960, £14,318 8s. 2d.)		
289	Subscriptions received in advance .	178 19 8	24,124			24,723 4 2
	Investment Reserve Account			**Current Assets**		
353	As at 30th June 1959 . . .	353 0 8		Balances at Bank:		
—	Barclays Bank Ltd.—Overdraft . .	333 18 4	482	Current Accounts . . 100 0 0		
			410	Deposit Account . . 2,668 10 1		
			24	Post Office Savings Bank 24 8 3		
			134	London Trustee Savings Bank . . . 1,138 11 4		
			3	Cash in Hand . . 7 12 2		
			1,053			3,939 1 10
				Note: The Society also owns the Library Furniture and Office Equipment at 96 Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, and a Stock of its own publications, the cost of which has been written off to Income and Expenditure Account.		
£25,177		£28,662 6 0	£25,177			£28,662 6 0

We have examined the foregoing Income and Expenditure Account and Balance Sheet with the books and vouchers of the Society.

We have verified the Investments appearing in the Balance Sheet. We report that the above Balance Sheet is, in our opinion, properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the affairs of the Society, according to the best of our information and explanations given to us, and as shown by the Books of the Society.

C. RYLAND BEEBY, HARMAR & CO.,
Chartered Accountants, Auditors.

119/125, Finsbury Pavement, London, E.C.2.
26th September, 1960.

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

III.—Statement of Funds 30 June 1960

	Balance at the Beginning of the year. £ s. d.		Grants and Additions during the year. £ s. d.		Expenditure and Withdrawals during the year. £ s. d.		Balance at the End of the year. £ s. d.
The Sir George W. Prothero Bequest	17,191 7 5		—		—		17,191 7 5
Life Subscription Fund	3,026 17 0		—		(a) 82 4 1		2,944 12 11
Contingencies Reserve Fund (formerly Lease Renewal Fund)	1,030 19 10	(a)	82 4 1		(c) 195 16 0		917 7 11
Library Fund	*overspent* 5 8	(b)	140 0 0		186 14 11		*overspent* 47 0 7
Publications Fund	1,587 4 8	(d)	3,593 18 9		867 5 11		4,313 17 6
'Writings on British History' Fund	699 1 2	(b)	350 0 0		(f) 250 0 0		799 1 2
General Fund	1,000 7 9	(g)	676 13 3		—		1,677 1 0
	£24,535 12 2		£4,842 16 1		£1,582 0 11		£27,796 7 4

REFERENCES

(a) Proportion of Life Subscription transferred.
(b) Grant for the year.
(c) Expenditure on decorations.
(d) See Account IV.
(f) Final Subsidy on Writings on British History 1940/45.
(g) Profit on sale of Investments.

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

IV.—Publications Account for the Year ended 30 June 1960

Dr. *Cr.*

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Payments made during the Year:		Balance of Allocations at 30th June 1959 brought forward	1,587 4 8
Transactions—Fifth Series:			
Vol. 10 £714 0 7		Allocation for Publications 1959/60:	
do. Offprints 32 6 11		Grants £2,872 6 3	
	746 7 6	Proceeds of Sales (as per Income and Expenditure Account) 721 12 6	
Volumes bought to replace Stock	27 0 8		3,593 18 9
Warehousing of Stock	53 10 0		
Sundry Postages, Packing and Expenses	40 7 9		
	867 5 11		
Balance at 30th June 1960 available for publications due but not published	4,313 17 6		
	£5,181 3 5		£5,181 3 5

THE DAVID BERRY TRUST

Receipts and Payments Account for the Year ended 30 June 1960

Receipts

	£	s.	d.
BALANCE IN HAND, 30TH JUNE 1959, BROUGHT FORWARD FROM LAST ACCOUNT, viz.:			
Cash at Bank: Current Account overdraft £16 1 1			
Post Office Savings Bank . . . 57 6 5			
Cash in Hand 1 5 9			
£100 3½% Defence Bonds (at cost) . 100 0 0			
£200 5% Defence Bonds (at cost) . 200 0 0			
	342	11	1
Dividends on Investments per Charity Commissioners .	35	14	8
Interest on £200 5% Defence Bonds . . .	10	0	0
Interest on £100 3½% Defence Bonds . . .	3	10	0
Post Office Savings Bank Interest	1	2	3
	£392	18	0

Payments

	£	s.	d.
Printing and Postages		5	0
BALANCE IN HAND—30TH JUNE 1960, CARRIED FORWARD, viz.:			
Cash at Bank: Current Account .			
Post Office Savings £58 3 7			
Bank . . . 33 8 8			
Cash in Hand 1 0 9			
£100 3½% Defence Bonds (at cost) . 100 0 0			
£200 5% Defence Bonds (at cost) . 200 0 0			
	392	13	0
	£392	18	0

We have examined the above Account and find it correct.

119/125, FINSBURY PAVEMENT, LONDON, E.C.2.
22nd September, 1959.

C. RYLAND BEEBY, HARMAR & CO.,
Chartered Accountants, Auditors.

The late David Berry, by his Will dated the 23rd day of April 1926, left £1,000 to provide in every three years a gold medal and prize money for the best essay on the Earl of Bothwell or, at the discretion of the Trustees, on Scottish History of the James Stuarts I to VI in memory of his father, the late Rev. David Berry.

The Trust is now regulated by a scheme sanctioned by the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice dated 23rd day of January 1930 and made in an Action 1927 A. 1233 David Anderson Berry deceased, Hunter and another v. Robertson and another.

This Society is now the Trustee, and the investment held on Capital Account consists of £634 17s. 2d. 3½% Conversion Stock and £540 13s. 2d. Treasury 2½% Stock 1975.

The Trustee will in every second year of the three-year period advertise in *The Times* inviting essays.

ALEXANDER PRIZE

The Alexander Prize was established in 1897 by L. C. Alexander, F.R.Hist.S. It consists of a silver medal awarded annually for an essay upon some historical subject. Candidates may select their own subject provided such subject has been previously submitted to and approved by the Literary Director. The essay must be a genuine work of original research, not hitherto published, and one which has not been awarded any other prize. It must not exceed 6,000 words in length and must be sent in on or before 31 January 1962. The detailed regulations should be obtained in advance from the Secretary.

LIST OF ALEXANDER PRIZE ESSAYISTS (1898–1959)[1]

1898. F. Hermia Durham ('The relations of the Crown to trade under James I').
1899. W. F. Lord, B.A. ('The development of political parties in the reign of Queen Anne').
1901. Laura M. Roberts ('The Peace of Lunéville').
1902. V. B. Redstone ('The social condition of England during the Wars of the Roses').
1903. Rose Graham ('The intellectual influence of English monasticism between the tenth and twelfth centuries').
1904. Enid W. G. Routh ('The balance of power in the seventeenth century').
1905. W. A. P. Maso , M.A. ('The beginnings of the Cistercian Order').
1906. Rachel R. Reid, M.A. ('The Rebellion of the Earls, 1569').
1908. Kate Hotblack ('The Peace of Paris, 1763').
1909. Nellie Nield, M.A. ('The social and economic condition of the unfree classes in England in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries').
1912. H. G. Richardson ('The parish clergy of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries').
1917. Isobel D. Thornley, B.A. ('The treason legislation of 1531–1534').
1918. T. F. T. Plucknett, B.A. ('The place of the Council in the fifteenth century').
1919. Edna F. White, M.A. ('The jurisdiction of the Privy Council under the Tudors').
1920. J. E. Neale, M.A. ('The Commons Journals of the Tudor Period').
1922. Eveline C. Martin ('The English establishments on the Gold Coast in the second half of the eighteenth century').

[1] No award was made in 1900, 1907, 1910, 1911, 1913, 1914, 1921, 1946, 1948, 1956. The prize Essays for 1909 and 1919 were not published in the *Transactions*. No Essays were submitted in 1915, 1916 and 1943.

1923. E. W. Hensman, M.A. ('The Civil War of 1648 in the east midlands').
1924. Grace Stretton, B.A. ('Some aspects of mediæval travel').
1925. F. A. Mace, M.A. ('Devonshire ports in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries').
1926. Marian J. Tooley, M.A. ('The authorship of the *Defensor Pacis*').
1927. W. A. Pantin, B.A. ('Chapters of the English Black Monks, 1215–1540').
1928. Gladys A. Thornton, B.A., Ph.D. ('A study in the history of Clare, Suffolk, with special reference to its development as a borough').
1929. F. S. Rodkey, A.M., Ph.D. ('Lord Palmerston's policy for the rejuvenation of Turkey, 1839–47').
1930. A. A. Ettinger, D.Phil. ('The proposed Anglo-Franco-American Treaty of 1852 to guarantee Cuba to Spain').
1931. Kathleen A. Walpole, M.A. ('The humanitarian movement of the early nineteenth century to remedy abuses on emigrant vessels to America').
1932. Dorothy M. Brodie, B.A. ('Edmund Dudley, minister of Henry VII').
1933. R. W. Southern, B.A. ('Ranulf Flambard and early Anglo-Norman administration').
1934. S. B. Chrimes, M.A., Ph.D. ('Sir John Fortescue and his theory of dominion').
1935. S. T. Bindoff, M.A. ('The unreformed diplomatic service, 1812–60').
1936. Rosamond J. Mitchell, M.A., B.Litt. ('English students at Padua, 1460–1475').
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1947. June Milne, B.A. ('The diplomacy of Dr. John Robinson at the court of Charles XII of Sweden, 1697–1709').
1949. Ethel Drus, M.A. ('The attitude of the Colonial Office to the annexation of Fiji').
1950. Doreen J. Milne, M.A., Ph.D. ('The results of the Rye House Plot, and their influence upon the Revolution of 1688').
1951. K. G. Davies, B.A. ('The origins of the commission system in the West India trade').

1952. G. W. S. Barrow, B.Litt. ('Scottish rulers and the religious orders, 1070–1153').
1953. W. E. Minchinton, B.Sc.(Econ.) ('Bristol—metropolis of the west in the eighteenth century').
1954. Rev. L. Boyle, O.P. ('The *Oculus Sacerdotis* and some other works of William of Pagula').
1955. G. F. E. Rudé, M.A., Ph.D. ('The Gordon riots: a study of the rioters and their victims').
1957. R. F. Hunnisett, M.A., D.Phil. ('The origins of the office of Coroner').
1958. Thomas G. Barnes, A.B., D.Phil. ('County politics and a puritan *cause célèbre:* Somerset churchales, 1633').
1959. Alan Harding, B.Litt. ('The origins and early history of the Keeper of the Peace').
1960. Gwyn A. Williams, M.A., Ph.D. ('London and Edward I').

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The David Berry Prize was established in 1929 by David Anderson-Berry in memory of his father, the Reverend David Berry. It consists of a gold medal and money prize awarded every three years for Scottish history. Candidates may select any subject dealing with Scottish history within the reigns of James I to James VI inclusive, provided such subject has been previously submitted to and approved by the Council of the Royal Historical Society. The essay must be a genuine work of original research not hitherto published, and one which has not been awarded any other prize. There is no limit to the length of the essay. It must be sent in on or before 31 October 1961.

LIST OF DAVID BERRY PRIZE ESSAYISTS (1937–1958)[1]

1937. G. Donaldson, M.A. ('The polity of the Scottish Reformed Church *c.* 1560–1580, and the rise of the Presbyterian movement').
1943. Rev. Prof. A. F. Scott Pearson, D.Th., D.Litt. ('Anglo-Scottish religious relations, 1400–1600').
1949. T. Bedford Franklin, M.A., F.R.S.E. ('Monastic agriculture in Scotland, 1440–1600').
1955. W. A. McNeill, M.A. (' "Estaytt" of the king's rents and pensions, 1621').
1958. Prof. Maurice Lee, Ph.D. ('Maitland of Thirlestane and the foundation of the Stewart despotism in Scotland').

[1] No Essays were submitted in 1940. No award was made in 1946 and 1952.

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National Library of Peking, Peking, 7.
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Tientsin, Tientsin Normal University, Ho Si.

DENMARK

Aarhus, Statsbiblioteket.
Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliothek.

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FRANCE

Bordeaux, Bibliothèque de l'Université, 20 Cours Pasteur.
Caen, Bibliothèque de l'Université, Caen, Calvados.
Bibliothèque de l'Institut d'histoire du moyen âge de l'Université de Caen.
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.
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Bonn, Universitäts-Bibliothek, Am Hof 32–34.
Erlangen, Universitäts-Bibliothek, Universitätsstr. 1.
Frankfurt, Stadt- und Universitäts-Bibliothek, Untermainkai 14, Frankfurt/M.
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Montevideo, Instituto de Investigaciones Historicas, Universidad de Montevideo, Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias, Cerrito 73.

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The Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion, 20 Bedford Square, W.C.1.
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Société de l'École Nationale des Chartes, 19 rue de la Sorbonne, Paris.
Société de l'Histoire de France, 60 rue des Francs-Bourgeois, Paris.

GERMANY

Hansischer Geschichtsverein, St Annen-Strasse 2, Lübeck.

HOLLAND

Bureau van de Rijks Commissie voor Vaderlandse Geschiedenis, 7 Bleyenburg, The Hague.
Historisch Genootschap, Utrecht, c/o Bibliothèque de l'Université.

PAKISTAN

Pakistan Historical Society, 30 New Karachi Housing Society, Karachi, 5.

POLAND

Société des Sciences et des Lettres de Varsovie, L'Université, Warsaw.

SWEDEN

Historisk Tidskrift, Storgatan 41, Stockholm.

SWITZERLAND

Allgemeine Geschichtsforschende Gesellschaft der Schweiz, Stadt Bibliothek Berne.

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Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

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Fifth series, 1951– . Vols. I–X.

MISCELLANEOUS PUBLICATIONS

Domesday commemoration. Notes on the manuscripts, etc., exhibited at the Public Record Office. 1886. 6s. 6d.

* Vols. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9 and 10 of the Old series, vols. 1, 2, 3, 10, 19 of the New series, vol. 9 of the Third series and vols. 1, 2, 4 of the Fourth series are out of print. New series vols. 4, 9, 18, 19 and Third Series vol. 10 are only supplied by special leave of the Council. Others are supplied at 15s. each volume. The earliest volumes of the *Transactions* were issued to Fellows in unbound parts. Any discrepancies in the lettering of bound volumes during these periods are doubtless due to this.

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Domesday studies. 2 vols. Edited by P. E. Dove. 1886. 32s. (†Vol. 1).
†England and Napoleon in 1803: being the despatches of Lord Whitworth and others. Edited by Oscar Browning. 1887. 10s.
Walter of Henley's Husbandry, together with an anonymous Husbandry, Seneschaucie, and Robert Grosseteste's Rules. Edited by Elizabeth Lamond and the Rev. W. Cunningham. 1890. 16s.
Proceedings of the Gibbon commemoration 1794–1894. 1895. 6s. 6d.
†The Domesday of Inclosures, 1517–18. Edited by I. S. Leadam. 2 vols. 1897. 40s.
A bibliography of the historical works of Mandell Creighton, William Stubbs, S. R. Gardiner and John, Lord Acton. Edited by W. A. Shaw. 1903. 6s. 6d.
German opinion and German policy before the War. By G. W. Prothero. 1916. 5s. 6d.
Magna Carta commemoration essays. With preface by the Right Hon. Viscount Bryce. Edited by H. E. Malden. 1917. 33s. 6d.
*A repertory of British archives. Part I. England. Compiled by Hubert Hall. 1920. 10s. 6d.
†A list and index of the Transactions and publications of the Royal Historical Society (1869–1924) and of the publications of the Camden Society (1840–1897). Edited by Hubert Hall. 1925. 5s.
The *Domesday monachorum* of Christ Church, Canterbury. 1944. 30s.

BIBLIOGRAPHIES ISSUED IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Bibliography of British history: Tudor period, 1485–1603. Edited by Conyers Read. 2nd ed. 1959. Oxford Univ. Press, 63s. (Special price, 45s.)
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Bibliography of British history: 1714–1789. Edited by S. M. Pargellis and D. J. Medley. 1951. Oxford Univ. Press, 42s. (Special price, 32s. 6d.)

ANNUAL BIBLIOGRAPHIES

Writings on British history, 1934. Compiled by A. T. Milne. 1937. London, Jonathan Cape, 21s. (Special price, 18s.)
Writings on British history, 1935. Compiled by A. T. Milne. 1939. London, Jonathan Cape, 21s. (Special price, 18s.)
Writings on British history, 1936. Compiled by A. T. Milne. 1940. London, Jonathan Cape, 21s. (Special price, 18s.)
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Writings on British history, 1938. Compiled by A. T. Milne. 1951. London, Jonathan Cape, 21s. (Special price, 18s.)
Writings on British history, 1939. Compiled by A. T. Milne. 1953. London, Jonathan Cape, 21s. (Special price, 18s.)
Writings on British history, 1940–1945. 2 vols. Compiled by A. T. Milne. 1960. London, Jonathan Cape, 126s. (Special price, 110s.)

GUIDES AND HANDBOOKS

1. Guide to English commercial statistics, 1696–1782. By G. N. Clark, with a catalogue of materials by Barbara M. Franks. 1938. 7s. 6d.

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4. Handbook of dates for students of English history. By C. R. Cheney. 1955. 12s. 6d.
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7. Texts and calendars: an analytical guide to serial publications. Edited by E. L. C. Mullins. 1958. 50s.

Provisionally accepted for future publication:

List and index of parliamentary papers, 1700–1800. Edited by E. Wagstaff and A. T. Milne.

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